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THE FABLE OF THE BEES.

PART II.

By the AUTHOR of the First.

Opinionum enim Commenta delet dies; Naturæ judicia confirmat. Cicero de Nat. Deor. Lib. 2.

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THE

PREFACE.

CONSIDERING the manifold Clamours, that have been rais'd from ſeveral Quarters, againſt the Fable of the Bees, *even after I had publiſh'd the Explication of it, many of my Readers will wonder to to ſee me come out with a Second Part, before I have taken any further Notice of what has been ſaid againſt the Firſt. Whatever is Publiſh'd, I take it for granted, is ſubmitted to the Judgment of all the World that ſee it; but it is very unreaſonable that Authors ſhould not be upon the ſame Footing with their Criticks. The Treatment I have receiv'd, and the Liberties ſome*

Gentlemen have taken with me, being well known, the Publick muſt be convinced before now, that, in point of Civility, I owe my Adverſaries nothing: And if thoſe, who have taken upon them to ſchool and reprimand me, had an undoubted Right to cenſure what they thought fit, without asking my Leave, and to ſay of me what they pleas'd, I ought to have an equal Privilege to examine their Cenſures, and, without conſulting them, to judge in my Turn, whether they are worth anſwering or not. The Publick muſt be the Umpire between us. From the Appendix that has been added to the Firſt Part ever ſince the third Edition, it is manifeſt, that I have been far from endeavouring to ſtifle, either the Arguments or the Invectives that were made againſt me; and, not to have left the Reader uninform'd of any thing extant of either ſort, I once thought to have taken this Opportunity of preſenting him with a Liſt of the Adverſaries that have appeared in Print againſt me; but as they are in nothing ſo conſiderable as they are in their Numbers, I was afraid it would have look'd like Oſtentation, unleſs I would have anſwered them all, which I ſhall never attempt. The Reaſon therefore of my obſtinate Silence has been all along, that hitherto I have not been accuſed of any thing, that is criminal or immoral, for which every middling Capacity could not have framed a very good Anſwer, from ſome Part or other, either of the Vindication or the Book it ſelf.

However,

However, I have wrote, and had by me near two Years, a Defence of the Fable of the Bees, *in which I have ſtated and endeavour'd to ſolve all the Objections that might reaſonably be made againſt it, as to the Doctrine contain'd in it, and the Detriment it might be of to others: For this is the only thing about which I ever had any Concern. Being conſcious, that I have wrote with no ill Deſign, I ſhould be ſorry to lye under the Imputation of it: But as to the Goodneſs or Badneſs of the Performance it ſelf, the Thought was never worth my Care; and therefore thoſe Criticks, that found Fault with my bad Reaſoning, and ſaid of the Book, that it is ill wrote, that there is nothing new in it, that it is incoherent Stuff, that the Language is barbarous, the Humour low, and the Style mean and pitiful; thoſe Criticks, I ſay, are all very wellcome to ſay what they pleaſe: In the main, I believe they are in the right; but if they are not, I ſhall never give my ſelf the Trouble to contradict them; for I never think an Author more fooliſhly employ'd, than when he is vindicating his own Abilities. As I wrote it for my Diverſion, ſo I have had my Ends; if thoſe who read it have not had theirs, I am ſorry for it, tho' I think my ſelf not at all anſwerable for the Diſappointment. It was not wrote by Subſcription, nor have I ever warranted, any where, what Uſe or Goodneſs it would be of: On the contrary, in the very Preface, I have called it an inconſiderable Trifle, and ſince that, I have publickly*

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own'd that it was a Rhapſody. If People will buy Books without looking into them, or knowing what they are, I can't ſee whom they have to blame but themſelves, when they don't anſwer Expectation. Beſides, it is no new thing for People to diſlike Books after they have bought them: This will happen ſometimes, even when Men of conſiderable Figure had given them the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances, before hand, that they would be pleas'd with them.

A conſiderable Part of the Defence I mention'd, has been ſeen by ſeveral of my Friends, who have been in Expectation of it for ſome time. I have ſtay'd neither for Types nor Paper, and yet I have ſeveral Reaſons, why I do not yet publiſh it; which, having touch'd no body's Money, nor made any Promiſe concerning it, I beg leave to keep to my ſelf. Moſt of my Adverſaries, whenever it comes out, will think it ſoon enough, and no body ſuffers by the Delay but my ſelf.

Since I was firſt attack'd, it has long been a Matter of Wonder and Perplexity to me to find out, why and how Men ſhould conceive, that I had wrote with an Intent to debauch the Nation, and promote all Manner of Vice: And it was a great while before I could derive the Charge from any thing, but wilful Miſtake and premeditated Malice; but ſince I have ſeen, that Men could be ſerious in apprehending the Encreaſe of Rogues and Robberies, from the frequent Repreſentations of the Beggar's Opera, *I am perſuaded,*

ſuaded, that there really are ſuch Wrongheads *in the World, as will fancy Vices to be encouraged, when they ſee them expos'd. To the ſame Perverſeneſs of Judgment it muſt have been owing, that ſome of my Adverſaries were highly incens'd with me, for having own'd in the Vindication, that* hitherto I had not been able to conquer my Vanity, as well as I could have wiſh'd. *From their Cenſure it is manifeſt, that they muſt have imagin'd, that to complain of a Frailty, was the ſame as to brag of it. But if theſe angry Gentlemen had been leſs blinded with Paſſion, or ſeen with better Eyes, they would eaſily have perceiv'd, unleſs they were too well pleas'd with their Pride; that to have made the ſame Confeſſion themſelves, they wanted nothing but Sincerity. Whoever boaſts of his Vanity, and at the ſame time ſhews his Arrogance, is unpardonable. But when we hear a Man complain of an Infirmity, and his Want of Power entirely to cure it, whilſt he ſuffers no Symptoms of it to appear, that we could juſtly upbraid him with; we are ſo far from being offended, that we are pleas'd with the Ingenuity, and applaud his Candor: And when ſuch an Author takes no greater Liberties with his Readers, than what is uſual in the ſame manner of writing, and owns That to be the Reſult of Vanity, which others tell a thouſand Lies about, his Confeſſion is a Compliment, and the Frankneſs of it ought not to be look'd upon otherwiſe, than as a Civility to the Publick, a Condeſcen-*

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ſion he was not obliged to make. It is not in feeling the Paſſions, or in being affected with the Frailties of Nature, that Vice conſiſts; but in indulging and obeying the Call of them, contrary to the Dictates of Reaſon. Whoever pays great Deference to his Readers, reſpectfully ſubmitting himſelf to their Judgment, and tells them at the ſame time, that he is entirely deſtitute of Pride; whoever, I ſay, does this, ſpoils his Compliment whilſt he is making of it: For it is no better than bragging, that it coſts him nothing. Perſons of Taſte, and the leaſt Delicacy, can be but little affected with a Man's Modeſty, of whom they are ſure, that he is wholly void of Pride within: The Abſence of the one makes the Virtue of the other ceaſe, at leaſt the Merit of it is not greater than that of Chaſtity in an Eunuch, or Humility in a Beggar. What Glory would it be to the Memory of Cato, *that he refuſed to touch the Water that was brought him, if it was not ſuppoſed that he was very thirſty when he did it?*

The Reader will find, that in this Second Part I have endeavoured to illuſtrate and explain ſeveral Things, that were obſcure and only hinted at in the Firſt.

Whilſt I was forming this Deſign, I found on the one hand, that, as to my ſelf, the eaſieſt way of executing it, would be by Dialogue; but I knew, on the other, that to diſcuſs Opinions, and manage Controverſies, it is counted the moſt unfair Manner of Writing. When partial Men

have a mind to demoliſh an Adverſary, and triumph over him with little Expence, it has long been a frequent Practice to attack him with Dialogues, in which the Champion, who is to loſe the Battel, appears at the very beginning of the Engagement, to be the Victim, that is to be ſacrifiſed, and ſeldom makes a better Figure, than Cocks on Shrove-Tueſday, *that receive Blows, but return none, and are viſibly ſet up on purpoſe to be knock'd-down. That this is to be ſaid againſt Dialogues, is certainly true; but it is as true, that there is no other manner of writing, by which greater Reputation has been obtain'd. Thoſe, who have moſt excell'd all others in it were the two moſt famous Authors of all Antiquity,* Plato *and* Cicero: *The one wrote almoſt all his Philoſophical Works in Dialogues, and the other has left us nothing elſe. It is evident then, that the Fault of thoſe, who have not ſucceeded in Dialogues, was in the Management, and not in the manner of Writing; and that nothing but the ill uſe that has been made of it, could ever have brought it into Diſrepute. The Reaſon why* Plato *preferr'd Dialogues to any other manner of Writing, he ſaid, was, that Things thereby might look, as if they were acted, rather than told: The ſame was afterwards given by* Cicero *in the ſame Words, rendred into his own Language. The greateſt Objection that in reality lies againſt it, is the Difficulty there is in writing them well. The chief of* Plato's *Interlocutors was always his Maſter* So-

crates, *who every where maintains his Character with great Dignity; but it would have been impoſſible to have made ſuch an extraordinary Perſon ſpeak like himſelf on ſo many Emergencies, if* Plato *had not been as great a Man as* Socrates.

Cicero, *who ſtudy'd nothing more than to imitate* Plato, *introduced in his Dialogues ſome of the greateſt Men in* Rome *his Contemporaries, that were known to be of different Opinions, and made them maintain and defend every one his own Sentiments, as ſtrenuouſly and in as lively a manner, as they could poſſibly have done themſelves; and in reading his Dialogues a Man may eaſily imagine himſelf, to be in company with ſeveral learned Men of different Taſtes and Studies. But to do this a Man muſt have* Cicero's *Capacity.* Lucian *likewiſe, and ſeveral others among the Ancients, choſe for their Speakers, Perſons of known Characters. That this intereſts and engages the Reader more, than ſtrange Names, is undeniable; but then, when the Perſonages fall ſhort of theſe Characters, it plainly ſhews, that the Author undertook what he was not able to execute. To avoid this Inconveniency, moſt Dialogue Writers among the Moderns have made uſe of fictitious Names, which they either invented themſelves, or borrow'd of others. Theſe are, generally ſpeaking, judicious* Compounds, *taken from the* Greek, *that ſerve for ſhort Characters of the imaginary Perſons they are given to, denoting either the*

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Party they ſide with, or what it is they love or hate. But of all theſe happy Compounds there is not one, that has appear'd equally charming to ſo many Authors of different Views and Talents, as Philalethes; *a plain Demonſtration of the great Regard Mankind generally have to Truth. There has not been a Paper-War of note, theſe two hundred Years, in which both Parties, at one time or other, have not made uſe of this victorious Champion; who, which Side ſoever he has fought on, has hitherto, like* Dryden's Almanzor, *been Conqueror, and conſtantly carried all before him. But, as by this means the Event of the Battel muſt always be known, as ſoon as the Combatants are named, and before a Blow is ſtruck; and as all Men are not equally peaceable in their Diſpoſitions, many Readers have complain'd, that they had not Sport enough for their Money, and that knowing ſo much before-hand, ſpoil'd all their Diverſion. This Humour having prevail'd for ſome time, Authors are grown leſs ſollicitous about the Names of the Perſonages they introduce: This careleſs Way ſeeming to me, at leaſt, as reaſonable as any other, I have follow'd; and had no other Meaning by the Names I have given my Interlocutors, than to diſtinguiſh them; without the leaſt Regard to the Derivation of the Words, or any thing relating to the Etymology of them: All the Care I have taken about them, that I know of, is, that the Pronunciation of them ſhould not be harſh, nor the Sounds offenſive.*

But tho' the Names I have choſen are feign'd, and the Circumſtances of the Perſons fictitious, the Characters themſelves are real, and as faithfully copied from Nature, as I have been able to take them. I have known Criticks find fault with Play-wrights for annexing ſhort Characters to the Names they gave the Perſons of the Drama; *alledging, that it is foreſtalling their Pleaſure, and that whatever the Actors are repreſented to be, they want no Monitor, and are wiſe enough to find it out themſelves. But I could never approve of this Cenſure; there is a Satisfaction, I think, in knowing ones Company; and when I am to converſe with People for a conſiderable time, I deſire to be well acquainted with them, and the ſooner the better. It is for this reaſon, I thought it proper to give the Reader ſome account of the Perſons, that are to entertain him. As they are ſuppoſed to be People of Quality, I beg leave, before I come to Particulars, to premiſe ſome things concerning the* Beau Monde *in general; which tho' moſt People perhaps know them, every Body does not always attend to. Among the faſhionable part of Mankind throughout Chriſtendom, there are in all Countries Perſons, who, tho' they feel a juſt Abhorrence to Atheiſm and profeſs'd Infidelity, yet have very little Religion, and are ſcarce Half-Believers when their Lives come to be look'd into, and their Sentiments examin'd. What is chiefly aim'd at in a refined Education is to procure as much Eaſe and Pleaſure upon Earth, as that*

that can afford: Therefore Men are firſt inſtructed in all the various Arts of rendring their Behaviour agreeable to others, with the leaſt Diſturbance to themſelves. Secondly, they are imbued with the Knowledge of all the elegant Comforts of Life, as well as the Leſſons of human Prudence, to avoid Pain and Trouble, in order to enjoy as much of the World, and with as little Oppoſition, as it is poſſible: whilſt thus Men ſtudy their own private Intereſt, in aſſiſting each other to promote and encreaſe the Pleaſures of Life in general, they find by Experience, that to compaſs thoſe Ends, every thing ought to be baniſh'd from Converſation, that can have the leaſt Tendency of making others uneaſy; and to reproach Men with their Faults or Imperfections, Neglects or Omiſſions, or to put them in Mind of their Duty, are Offices that none are allow'd to take upon them, but Parents or profeſs'd Maſters and Tutors; nor even they before Company: But to reprove and pretend to teach others, we have no Authority over, is ill Manners, even in a Clergyman out of the Pulpit; nor is he there to talk magiſterially, or ever to mention things, that are melancholly or diſmal, if he would paſs for a polite Preacher: But whatever we may vouchſafe to hear at Church; neither the Certainty of a future State, nor the Neceſſity of Repentance, nor any thing elſe relating to the Eſſentials of Chriſtianity, are ever to be talk'd of when we are out of it, among the Beau Monde, *upon any Account whatever. The*

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Subject is not diverting: Beſides, every Body is ſuppoſed to know thoſe things, and to take care accordingly; nay it is unmannerly to think otherwiſe. The Decency in Faſhion being the chief, if not the only Rule, all modiſh People walk by, not a few of them go to Church, and receive the Sacrament, from the ſame Principle, that obliges them to pay Viſits to one another, and now and then to make an Entertainment. But as the greateſt Care of the Beau Monde *is to be agreeable, and appear well-bred, ſo moſt of them take particular Care, and many againſt their Conſciences, not to ſeem burden'd with more Religion, than it is faſhionable to have; for fear of being thought, to be either Hypocrites or Bigots.*

Virtue however is a very faſhionable Word, and ſome of the moſt luxurious are extremely fond of the amiable ſound; tho' they mean nothing by it, but a great Veneration for whatever is courtly or ſublime, and an equal Averſion to every thing, that is vulgar or unbecoming. They ſeem to imagine, that it chiefly conſiſts in a ſtrict Compliance to the Rules of Politeneſs, and all the Laws of Honour, that have any regard to the Reſpect that is due to themſelves. It is the Exiſtence of this Virtue, that is often maintain'd with ſo much Pomp of Words, and for the Eternity of which ſo many Champions are ready to take up Arms: Whilſt the Votaries of it deny themſelves no Pleaſure, they can enjoy either faſhionably or in ſecret; and, inſtead of

of ſacrificing the Heart to the Love of real Virtue, can only condeſcend to abandon the outward Deformity of Vice, for the Satisfaction they receive from appearing to be well-bred. It is counted ridiculous for Men to commit Violence upon themſelves, or to maintain, that Virtue requires Self-denial; all Court-Philoſophers are agreed, that nothing can be lovely or deſirable, that is mortifying or uneaſy. A civil Behaviour among the Fair in Publick, and a Deportment, inoffenſive both in Words and Actions, is all the Chaſtity, the polite World requires in Men. What Liberties ſoever a Man gives himſelf in private, his Reputation ſhall never ſuffer, whilſt he conceals his Amours from all thoſe, that are not unmannerly inquiſitive, and takes care, that nothing criminal can ever be proved upon him. Si non caſtè ſaltem cautè, *is a Precept that ſufficiently ſhews, what every Body expects; and tho' Incontinence is own'd to be a Sin, yet never to have been guilty of it is a Character, which moſt ſingle Men under thirty would not be fond of, even among ſt modeſt Women.*

As the World every where, in Compliment to itſelf, deſires to be counted really virtuous, ſo bare-fac'd Vices, and all Treſpaſſes committed in Sight of it, are heinous and unpardonable. To ſee a Man drunk in the open Street or any ſerious Aſſembly at Noon-day is ſhocking; becauſe it is a Violation of the Laws of Decency, and plainly ſhews a Want of Reſpect, and Neglect

glect of Duty, which every Body is ſuppoſed to owe to the Publick. Men of mean Circumſtances likewiſe may be blamed for ſpending more Time or Money in drinking, than they can afford; but when theſe and all worldly Conſiderations are out of the Queſtion, Drunkenneſs itſelf, as it is a Sin, an Offence to Heaven, is ſeldom cenſured; and no Man of Fortune ſcruples to own, that he was at ſuch a Time in ſuch a Company, were they drank very hard. Where nothing is committed, that is either beaſtly, or otherwiſe extravagant, Societies, that meet on purpoſe to drink, and be merry, reckon their manner of paſſing away the time as innocent, as any other, tho' moſt Days in the Year they ſpend five or ſix Hours of the four and twenty in that Diverſion. No Man had ever the Reputation of being a good Companion, that would never drink to exceſs; and if a Man's Conſtitution be ſo ſtrong, or himſelf ſo cautious, that the Doſe he takes over-night, never diſorders him the next Day, the worſt that ſhall be ſaid of him, is, that he loves his Bottle with Moderation: Tho' every Night conſtantly he makes drinking his Paſtime, and hardly ever goes to Bed entirely ſober.

Avarice, it is true, is generally deteſted; but as Men may be as guilty of it by ſcraping Money together, as they can be by hoarding it up, ſo all the baſe, the ſordid and unreaſonable means of acquiring Wealth, ought to be equally condemn'd and exploded, with the vile, the pitiful

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and penurious ways of ſaving it; but the World is more indulgent; no Man is tax'd with Avarice, that will conform with the Beau Monde, *and live every way in Splendour, tho' he ſhould always be raiſing the Rents of his Eſtate, and hardly ſuffer his Tenants to live under him; tho' he ſhould enrich himſelf by Uſury, and all the barbarous Advantages that Extortion can make of the Neceſſities of others; and tho' moreover he ſhould be a bad Pay-maſter himſelf, and an unmerciful Creditor to the unfortunate; it is all one, no man is counted covetous, who entertains well, and will allow his Family what is faſhionable for a Perſon in his Condition. How often do we ſee Men of very large Eſtates unreaſonably ſollicitous after greater Riches! What Greedineſs do ſome Men diſcover in extending the Perquiſites of their Offices! What diſhonourable Condeſcenſions are made for Places of Profit! What ſlaviſh Attendance is given, and what low Submiſſions and unmanly Cringes are made to Favorites for Penſions, by Men that could ſubſiſt without them! Yet theſe things are no Reproach to Men, and they are never upbraided with them but by their Enemies, or thoſe that envy them, and perhaps the Diſcontented and the Poor. On the contrary, moſt of the well-bred People, that live in Affluence themſelves, will commend them for their Diligence and Activity; and ſay of them, that they take care of the Main Chance; that they are induſtrious Men*

for their Families, and that they know how, and are fit, to live in the World.

But these kind Constructions are not more hurtful to the Practice of Christianity, than the high Opinion, which in an artful Education Men are taught to have of their Species, is to the Belief of its Doctrine, if a right use be not made of it. That the great Preeminence we have over all other Creatures, we are acquainted with, consists in our rational Faculty, is very true; but it is as true, that the more we are taught to admire ourselves, the more our Pride encreases, and the greater Stress we lay on the Sufficiency of our Reason: For as Experience teaches us, that the greater and the more transcendent the Esteem is, which Men have for their own Worth, the less capable they generally are to bear Injuries without Resentment; so we see in like manner, that the more exalted the Notions are, which Men entertain of their better part, their reasoning Faculty, the more remote and averse they'll be from giving their Assent to any thing that seems to insult over or contradict it: And asking a Man to admit of any thing, he cannot comprehend, the Proud Reasoner calls an Affront to human Understanding. But as Ease and Pleasure are the grand Aim of the Beau Monde, *and Civility is inseparable from their Behaviour, whether they are Believers or not, so well-bred People never quarrel with the Religion they are brought up in: They'll readily*

readily comply with every Ceremony in Divine Worſhip, they have been uſed to, and never diſpute with you, either about the Old *or the* New Teſtament, *if in your turn you'll forbear laying great Streſs upon Faith and Myſteries, and allow them to give an allegorical or any other figurative Senſe to the Hiſtory of the Creation, and whatever elſe they cannot comprehend or account for by the Light of Nature.*

I am far from believing that among the faſhionable People there are not in all Chriſtian Countries many Perſons of ſtricter Virtue and greater Sincerity in Religion, than I have here deſcribed; but that a conſiderable part of Mankind have a great Reſemblance to the Picture I have been drawing, I appeal to every knowing and candid Reader. Horatio, Cleomenes, *and* Fulvia *are the Names I have given to my Interlocutors: The firſt repreſents one of the modiſh People I have been ſpeaking of, but rather of the better ſort of them as to Morality; tho' he ſeems to have a greater Diſtruſt of the Sincerity of Clergymen, than he has of that of any other Profeſſion, and to be of the Opinion, which is expreſs'd in that trite and ſpecious as well as falſe and injurious ſaying,* Prieſts of all Religions are the ſame. *As to his Studies, he is ſuppos'd to be tolerably well vers'd in the Claſſicks, and to have read more than is uſual for People of Quality, that are born to great Eſtates. He is a Man of ſtrict Honour, and of*

Juſtice as well as Humanity; rather profuſe than covetous, and altogether diſintereſted in his Principles. He has been Abroad, ſeen the World, and is ſuppoſed to be poſſeſs'd of the greateſt part of the Accompliſhments, that uſually gain a Man the Reputation of being very much of a Gentleman.

Cleomenes *had been juſt ſuch another, but was much reform'd. As he had formerly, for his Amuſement only, been dipping into Anatomy, and ſeveral parts of natural Philoſophy; ſo, ſince he was come Home from his Travels, he had ſtudy'd human Nature, and the Knowledge of himſelf, with great Application. It is ſuppoſed, that, whilſt he was thus employing moſt of his leiſure Hours, he met with* the Fable of the Bees; *and making a right uſe of what he read, compared what he felt himſelf, within, as well as what he had ſeen in the World, with the Sentiments ſet forth in that Book, and found the Inſincerity of Men fully as univerſal, as it was there repreſented. He had no Opinion of the Pleas and Excuſes, that are commonly made to cover the real Deſires of the Heart; and he ever ſuſpected the Sincerity of Men, whom he ſaw to be fond of the World, and with Eagerneſs graſping at Wealth and Power, when they pretended that the great End of their Labours was to have Opportunities of doing good to others upon Earth, and becoming themſelves more thankful to Heaven; eſpecially, if they conform'd with the* Beau Monde,

Monde, and ſeem'd to take delight in a fa-ſhionable way of living: He had the ſame Su-ſpicion of all Men of Senſe, who, having read and conſider'd the Goſpel, would maintain the Poſſibility that Perſons might purſue Worldly Glory with all their Strength, and at the ſame time be good Chriſtians. Cleomenes himſelf be-liev'd the Bible to be the Word of God, without reſerve, and was entirely convinced of the my-ſterious as well as hiſtorical Truths that are contain'd in it. But as he was fully perſuaded, not only of the Veracity of the Chriſtian Reli-gion, but likewiſe of the Severity of its Pre-cepts, ſo he attack'd his Paſſions with Vigor, but never ſtrupled to own his want of Power to ſub-due them, or the violent Oppoſition he felt from within; often complaining, that the Obſtacles he met with from Fleſh and Blood, were inſur-mountable. As he underſtood perfectly well the difficulty of the Task required in the Goſpel, ſo he never oppoſed thoſe eaſy Caſuiſts, that endea-vour'd to leſſen and extenuate it for their own Ends; and he loudly maintain'd, that Men's Gratitude to Heaven was an unacceptable Of-fering, whilſt they continued to live in Eaſe and Luxury, and were viſibly ſollicitous after their Share of the Pomp and Vanity of this World. In the very Politeneſs of Converſation, the Complacency, with which faſhionable Peo-ple are continually ſoothing each other's Frail-ties, and in almoſt every part of a Gentleman's

Beha-

Behaviour, he thought, there was a Diſagreement between the outward Appearances, and what is felt within, that was claſhing with Uprightneſs and Sincerity. Cleomenes *was of Opinion, that of all religious Virtues, nothing was more ſcarce, or more difficult to acquire, than Chriſtian Humility; and that to deſtroy the Poſſibility of ever attaining to it, nothing was ſo effectual as what is call'd a Gentleman's Education; and that the more dextrous, by this Means, Men grew in concealing the outward Signs, and every Symptom of Pride, the more entirely they became enſlaved by it within. He carefully examin'd into the Felicity that accrues from the Applauſe of others, and the inviſible Wages which Men of Senſe and judicious Fancy receiv'd for their Labours; and what it was at the Bottom, that rendred thoſe airy Rewards ſo raviſhing to Mortals. He had often obſerved, and watch'd narrowly the Countenances and Behaviour of Men, when any thing of theirs was admired or commended, ſuch as the Choice of their Furniture, the Politeneſs of their Entertainments, the Elegancy of their Equipages, their Dreſs, their Diverſions, or the fine Taſte diſplay'd in their Buildings.*

Cleomenes *ſeemed charitable, and was a Man of ſtrict Morals, yet he would often complain that he was not poſſeſs'd of one Chriſtian Virtue, and found fault with his own Actions, that had all the Appearances of Goodneſs; be-*

cauſe

cauſe he was conſcious, he ſaid, that they were perform'd from a wrong Principle. The Effects of his Education, and his Averſion to Infamy, had always been ſtrong enough to keep him from Turpitude; but this he aſcribed to his Vanity, which he complain'd was in ſuch full Poſſeſſion of his Heart, that he knew no Gratification of any Appetite from which he was able to exclude it. Having always been a Man of unblameable Behaviour, the Sincerity of his Belief had made no viſible Alteration in his Conduct to outward Appearances; but in private he never ceas'd from examining himſelf. As no Man was leſs prone to Enthuſiaſm than himſelf, ſo his Life was very uniform; and as he never pretended to high Flights of Devotion, ſo he never was guilty of enormous Offences. He had a ſtrong Averſion to Rigoriſts of all ſorts; and when he ſaw Men quarrelling about Forms of Creeds, and the Interpretation of obſcure Places, and requiring of other the ſtricteſt Compliance to their own Opinions in diſputable Matters, it rais'd his Indignation to ſee the Generality of them want Charity, and many of them ſcandalouſly remiſs, in the plaineſt and moſt neceſſary Duties. He took uncommon Pains to ſearch into human Nature, and left no Stone unturn'd, to detect the Pride and Hypocriſy of it, and among his intimate Friends to expoſe the Stratagems of the one, and the exorbitant Power of the other. He was ſure, that the Satisfaction which aroſe

from

from worldly Enjoyments, was ſomething diſtinct from Gratitude, and foreign to Religion; and he felt plainly, that as it proceeded from within, ſo it center'd in himſelf: The very Reliſh of Life, he ſaid, was accompanied with an Elevation of Mind, that ſeem'd to be inſeparable from his Being. Whatever Principle was the Cauſe of this, he was convinced within himſelf, that the Sacrifice of the Heart, which the Goſpel requires, conſiſted in the utter Extirpation of that Principle; confeſſing at the ſame time, that this Satisfaction he found in himſelf, this Elevation of Mind, cauſed his chief Pleaſure; and that in all the Comforts of Life, it made the greateſt Part of the Enjoyment.

Cleomenes *with grief often own'd his Fears, that his Attachment to the World would never ceaſe whilſt he lived; the Reaſons he gave, were the great Regard he continued to have for the Opinion of worldly Men; the Stubborneſs of his indocile Heart, that could not be brought to change the Objects of its Pride; and refuſed to be aſhamed of what from his Infancy it had been taught to glory in; and laſtly, the Impoſſibility, he found in himſelf, of being ever reconciled to Contempt, and enduring, with Patience, to be laugh'd at and deſpiſed for any Cauſe, or on any Conſideration whatever. Theſe were the Obſtacles, he ſaid, that hindered him from breaking off all* Commerce *with the* Beau Monde, *and entirely changing his manner of Living; without*

out which he thought it Mockery to talk of renouncing the World, and bidding adieu to all the Pomp and Vanity of it.

The part of Fulvia, *who is the third Perſon, is ſo inconſiderable, ſhe juſt appearing only in the firſt Dialogue, that it would be impertinent to trouble the Reader with a Character of her. I had a Mind to ſay ſome things on Painting and* Operas, *which I thought might by introducing her be brought in more naturally, and with leſs Trouble, than they could have been without her. The Ladies, I hope, will find no reaſon, from the little ſhe does ſay, to ſuſpect that ſhe wants either Virtue or Underſtanding.*

As to the Fable, or what is ſuppoſed to have occaſioned the firſt Dialogue between Horatio *and* Cleomenes, *it is this.* Horatio, *who had found great Delight in my Lord* Shaftsbury's *polite manner of Writing, his fine Raillery, and blending Virtue with good Manners, was a great Stickler for the Social Syſtem; and wonder'd how* Cleomenes *could be an Advocate for ſuch a Book as the* Fable of the Bees, *of which he had heard a very vile Character from ſeveral Quarters.* Cleomenes, *who loved and had a great friendſhip for* Horatio, *wanted to undeceive him; but the other, who hated Satyr, was prepoſſeſs'd, and having been told likewiſe, that martial Courage, and Honour itſelf, were ridicul'd in that Book, he was very much exaſperated againſt the Author and his whole*

Scheme: He had two or three times heard Cleomenes *diſcourſe on this Subject with others; but would never enter into the Argument himſelf; and finding his Friend often preſſing to come to it, he began to look coolly upon him, and at laſt to avoid all opportunities of being alone with him: 'till* Cleomenes *drew him in, by the Stratagem which the Reader will ſee he made uſe of, as* Horatio *was one day taking his leave after a ſhort complimentary Viſit.*

I ſhould not wonder to ſee Men of Candor, as well as good Senſe, find fault with the Manner, in which I have choſe to publiſh theſe Thoughts of mine to the World; there certainly is ſomething in it, which I confeſs I don't know how to juſtify to my own Satisfaction. That ſuch a Man as Cleomenes, *having met with a Book agreeable to his own Sentiments, ſhould deſire to be acquainted with the Author of it, has nothing in it, that is improbable or unſeemly; but then it will be objected, that, whoever the Interlocutors are, it was I myſelf who wrote the Dialogues; and that it is contrary to all Decency, that a Man ſhould proclaim concerning his own Work, all that a Friend of his, perhaps, might be allow'd to ſay: This is true; and the beſt Anſwer, which, I think, can be made to it, is, that ſuch an impartial Man, and ſuch a Lover of Truth, as* Cleomenes *is repreſented to be, would be as cautious in ſpeaking of his Friend's Merit, as he would be of his own. It might*

might be urg'd likewiſe, that when a Man profeſſes himſelf to be an Author's Friend, and exactly to entertain the ſame Sentiments with another, it muſt naturally put every Reader upon his guard, and render him as ſuſpicious and diſtruſtful of ſuch a Man, as he would be of the Author himſelf. But how good ſoever the Excuſes are, that might be made for this manner of Writing, I would never have ventur'd upon it, if I had not liked it in the famous Gaſſendus, *who by the help of ſeveral Dialogues and a Friend, who is the chief Perſonage in them, has not only explain'd and illuſtrated his Syſtem, but likewiſe refuted his Adverſaries: Him I have followed, and I hope the Reader will find, that whatever Opportunity I have had by this Means, of ſpeaking well of my ſelf indirectly, I had no Deſign to make that, or any other ill Uſe of it.*

As it is ſuppoſed, that Cleomenes *is my Friend, and ſpeaks my Sentiments, ſo it is but Juſtice, that every Thing which he advances ſhould be look'd upon and conſider'd as my own; but no Man in his Senſes would think, that I ought to be equally reſponſible for every Thing that* Horatio *ſays, who is his Antagoniſt. If ever he offers any thing that ſavours of Libertiniſm, or is otherwiſe exceptionable, which* Cleomenes *does not reprove him for in the beſt and moſt ſerious Manner, or to which he gives not the moſt ſatisfactory and convincing*

Anſwer that can be made, I am to blame, otherwiſe not. Yet from the Fate the firſt Volume has met with, I expect to ſee in a little time ſeveral things tranſcrib'd and cited from this, in that manner, by themſelves, without the Replies that are made to them, and ſo ſhewn to the World, as my Words and my Opinion. The Opportunity of doing this will be greater in this Book than it was in the former, and ſhould I always have fair play, and never be attack'd, but by ſuch Adverſaries, as would make their Quotations from me without Artifice, and uſe me with common Honeſty, it would go a great Way to the refuting of me; and I ſhould myſelf begin to ſuſpect the Truth of ſeveral Things I have advanced, and which hitherto I can't help believing.

A Stroke made in this manner, ——— which the Reader will ſometimes meet with in the following Dialogues, is a Sign, either of Interruption, when the Perſon ſpeaking is not ſuffer'd to go on with what he was going to ſay, or elſe of a Pauſe, during which ſomething is ſuppoſed to be ſaid or done, not relating to the Diſcourſe.

As in this Volume I have not alter'd the Subject, on which a former, known by the Name of the Fable of the Bees, *was wrote; and the ſame unbiaſs'd Method of ſearching after Truth and enquiring into the Nature of Man and Society, made uſe of in that, is continued in this,*

I thought it unneceſſary to look out for another Title; and being myſelf a great Lover of Simplicity, and my Invention none of the moſt fruitful, the Reader, I hope, will pardon the bald, inelegant Aſpect, and unuſual Emptineſs of the Title-Page.

Here I would have made an End of my Preface, which I know very well is too long already: But the World having been very groſly impoſed upon by a falſe Report, that ſome Months ago was very ſolemnly made, and as induſtriouſly ſpread in moſt of the News-Papers, for a conſiderable Time, I think, it would be an unpardonable Neglect in me, of the Publick, ſhould I ſuffer them to remain in the Error they were led into, when I am actually addreſſing them, and there is no other Perſon, from whom they can ſo juſtly expect to be undeceiv'd. In the London Evening-Poſt *of* Saturday March 9, 1727-8. *the following Paragraph was printed in ſmall Italick, at the End of the Home-News.*

On *Friday* Evening the firſt Inſtant, A Gentleman, well dreſs'd, appeared at the Bonefire before St. *James*'s-Gate, who declared himſelf the Author of a Book, entituled, *The Fable of the Bees:* And that he was ſorry for writing the ſame: and recollecting his former Promiſe, pronounced theſe Words: *I commit my Book to the Flames;* and threw it in accordingly.

The

The Monday *following the ſame piece of News was repeated in the* Daily Journal, *and after that for a conſiderable time, as I have ſaid, in moſt of the Papers: But ſince the* Saturday *mention'd, which was the only time it was printed by itſelf, it appear'd always with a ſmall Addition to it, and annex'd (with a* N. B. *before it) to the following Advertiſement.*

ΑΡΕΤΗ-ΛΟΓΙΑ.

Or an Enquiry into the Original of Moral Virtue, wherein the falſe Notions of *Machiavel*, *Hobbs*, *Spinoſa*, and Mr. *Bayle*, as they are collected and digeſted by the Author of *the Fable of the Bees*, are examined and confuted; and the eternal and unalterable Law of Nature and Obligation of Moral Virtue is ſtated and vindicated; to which is prefixed a Prefatory Introduction, in a Letter to that Author. By *Alexander Innes*, D. D. Preacher-Aſſiſtant at St. *Margaret's Weſtminſter.*

The ſmall Addition which I ſaid was made to that notable piece of News, after it came to be annex'd to this Advertiſement, conſiſted of theſe five Words (upon reading the above Book) *which were put in after* ſorry for writing the ſame. *This Story having been often repeated in the Papers, and never publickly contradicted, many People, it ſeems, were credulous enough to believe, notwithſtanding the Improbability of it.*

But

But the leaſt attentive would have ſuſpected the whole, as ſoon as they had ſeen the Addition that was made to it, the ſecond time it was publiſh'd; for ſuppoſing it to be intelligible, as it follows the Advertiſement, it cannot be pretended, that the repenting Gentleman pronounced thoſe very Words. He muſt have named the Book; and if he had ſaid, that his Sorrow was occaſion'd by reading the ΑΡΕΤΗ-ΛΟΓΙΑ, *or the new Book of the reverend Dr.* Innes, *how came ſuch a remarkable part of his Confeſſion to be omitted in the firſt Publication, where the well-dreſs'd Gentleman's Words and Actions ſeem to be ſet down with ſo much Care and Exactneſs? Beſides, every Body knows the great Induſtry, and general Intelligence of our News-Writers: If ſuch a Farce had really been acted, and a Man had been hired to pronounce the Words mention'd, and throw a Book into the Fire, which I have often wonder'd was not done; is it credible at all, that a Thing ſo remarkable, done ſo openly, and before ſo many Witneſſes the firſt Day of* March, *ſhould not be taken Notice of in any of the Papers before the Ninth, and never be repeated afterwards, or ever mention'd but as an Appendix of the Advertiſement to recommend Dr.* Innes's *Book?*

However, this Story has been much talk'd of, and occaſion'd a great deal of Mirth among my Acquaintance, ſeveral of whom have earneſtly preſs'd me more than once to advertiſe the Falſity

ſity of it, which I would never comply with for fear of being laugh'd at, as ſome Years ago poor Dr. Patridge *was, for ſeriouſly maintaining, that he was not dead. But all this while we were in the dark, and no Body could tell how this Report came into the World, or what it could be that had given a Handle to it, when one Evening a Friend of mine, who had borrow'd* Dr. Innes's *Book, which till then I had never ſeen, ſhew'd me in it the following Lines.*

But *à propos*, Sir, if I rightly remember the ingenious Mr. *Law*, in his Remarks upon your FABLE OF THE BEES, puts you in mind of a Promiſe you had made, by which you oblig'd yourſelf to burn that Book at any Time or Place your Adverſary ſhould appoint, if any Thing ſhould be found in it tending to Immorality or the Corruption of Manners. I have a great Reſpect for that Gentleman, tho' I am not perſonally acquainted with him, but I cannot but condemn his exceſſive Credulity and good Nature, in believing that a Man of your Principles could be a Slave to his Word; for my own part, I think, I know you too well to be ſo eaſily impoſed upon; or if, after all, you ſhould really perſiſt in your Reſolution, and commit it to the Flames, I appoint the firſt of *March* before St. *James*'s Gate, for that purpoſe, it being the Birth-day of the beſt and

and moſt glorious Queen upon Earth; and the burning of your Book the ſmalleſt Atonement you can make, for endeavouring to corrupt and debauch his Majeſty's Subjects in their Principles. Now, Sir, if you agree to this, I hope you are not ſo deſtitute of Friends, but that you may find ſome charitable Neighbour or other, who will lend you a helping Hand, and throw in the Author at the ſame time by way of Appendix; the doing of which will, in my Opinion, complete the Solemnity of the Day. I am not your Patient, but

Your moſt humble Servant.

Thus ends what in the ΑΡΕΤΗ-ΛΟΓΙΑ *Doctor* Innes *is pleaſed to call a Preſatory Introduction in a Letter to the Author of* the Fable of the Bees. *It is ſigned* A. I. *and dated* Tot-hill-fields Weſtminſter, Jan. 20. 1727-8.

Now all our Wonder ceas'd. The judicious Reader will eaſily allow me, that, having read thus much, I had an ample Diſpenſation from going on any further: Therefore I can ſay nothing of the Book; and as to the Reverend Author of it, who ſeems to think himſelf ſo well acquainted with my Principles, I have not the honour to know either him or his Morals, otherwiſe than from what I have quoted here. Ex pede Herculem.

London, Octob. 20. 1728.

ERRATA.

Page 99. *the laſt Line but one for* thought *read* taught.
Page 148. Line 15. *after* Paſſion, *add* of Pride.
Page 212. Line 2. *after* teach, *add* it.
Page 240. Line 6. *for* is it, *read* it is.
Page 282. Line 26. *after* being, *dele* ſeven or.
Page 298. Line 13. *for* Providence, *read* Prudence.
Page 354. Line 17. *for* D'on, *read* Dont.
Page 406. Line 3. *for* Actions, *read* Stations.

THE FIRST

DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

Horatio, Cleomenes, and *Fulvia.*

CLEOMENES.

ALways in haſte, *Horatio?*

Hor. I muſt beg of you to excuſe me, I am oblig'd to go.

Cleo. Whether you have other Engagements than you uſed to have, or whether your Temper is chang'd, I can't tell, but ſomething has made an Alteration in you, of which I cannot comprehend the Cauſe. There is no Man in the World whoſe Friendſhip I value more than I do yours, or whoſe Company I like better, yet I can never have it. I profeſs I have thought ſometimes, that you have avoided me on purpoſe.

Hor. I am ſorry, *Cleomenes*, I ſhould have been wanting in Civility to you. I come every Week conſtantly to pay my Reſpects to you, and if ever I fail, I always ſend to enquire after your Health.

Cleo. No Man out-does *Horatio* in Civility; but I thought ſomething more was due to our Affections and long Acquaintance, beſides Compliments and Ceremony: Of late I have never been to wait upon you, but you are gone abroad, or I find you engaged; and when I have the Honour to ſee you here, your Stay is only momentary. Pray pardon my Rudeneſs for once; What is it that hinders you now from keeping me Company for an Hour or two? My Couſin talks of going out, and I ſhall be all alone.

Hor. I know better than to rob you of ſuch an Opportunity for Speculation?

Cleo. Speculation! on what, pray?

Hor. That Vileneſs of our Species in the refin'd Way of thinking you have of late been ſo fond of, I call it the Scheme of Deformity, the Partizans of which ſtudy chiefly to make every thing in our Nature appear as ugly and contemptible as it is poſſible, and take uncommon Pains to perſwade Men that they are Devils.

Cleo. If that be all, I ſhall ſoon convince you.

Hor. No Conviction to me, I beſeech you: I am determin'd and fully perſuaded, that

there is Good in the World as well as Evil; and that the Words, Honeſty, Benevolence, and Humanity, and even Charity, are not empty Sounds only, but that there are ſuch Things in ſpight of the Fable of the Bees; and I am reſolved to believe, that, notwithſtanding the Degeneracy of Mankind, and the Wickedneſs of the Age, there are Men now living, who are actually poſſeſs'd of thoſe Virtues.

Cleo. But you don't know what I am going to ſay; I am——

Hor. That may be, but I will not hear one Word; all you can ſay is loſt upon me, and if you will not give me leave to ſpeak out, I am gone this Moment. That curſed Book has bewitch'd you, and made you deny the Exiſtence of thoſe very Virtues that had gain'd you the Eſteem of your Friends. You know this is not my uſual Language; I hate to ſay harſh Things: But what Regard can or ought one to have for an Author that treats every Body *de haut en bas*, makes a Jeſt of Virtue and Honour, calls *Alexander* the Great a Madman, and ſpares Kings and Princes no more than any one would the moſt abject of the People? The Buſineſs of his Philoſophy is juſt the Reverſe to that of the Herald's Office; for as there they are always contriving and finding out high and illuſtrious Pedigrees for low and obſcure People, ſo your Author is ever ſearching after, and inventing

mean contemptible Origins for worthy and honourable Actions. I am your very humble Servant.

Cleo. Stay. I am of your Opinion; what I offered to convince you of was, how entirely I am recover'd of the Folly which you have ſo juſtly expos'd: I have left that Error.

Hor. Are you in earneſt?

Cleo. No Man more: There is no greater Stickler for the Social Virtues than my ſelf, and I much queſtion, whether there is any of Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Admirers that will go my Lengths!

Hor. I ſhall be glad to ſee you go my Lengths firſt, and as many more as you pleaſe. You cannot conceive, *Cleomenes*, how it has griev'd me, when I have ſeen, how many Enemies you made yourſelf by that extravagant Way of arguing. If you are but ſerious, whence comes this Change?

Cleo. In the firſt Place I grew weary of having every Body againſt me: and in the Second, there is more Room for Invention in the other Syſtem. Poets and Orators in the Social Syſtem have fine Opportunities of exerting themſelves.

Hor. I very much ſuſpect the Recovery you boaſt of: Are you convinced, that the other Syſtem was falſe, which you might have eaſily learn'd from ſeeing every body againſt you?

Cleo,

Cleo. Falſe to be ſure; but what you alledge is no Proof of it: for if the greateſt Part of Mankind were not againſt that Scheme of Deformity, as you juſtly call it, Inſincerity could not be ſo general, as the Scheme itſelf ſuppoſes it to be: But ſince my Eyes have been open'd I have found out that Truth and Probability are the ſilleſt Things in the World; they are of no manner of uſe, eſpecially among the People *de bon goût.*

Hor. I thought what a Convert you was: but what new Madneſs has ſeiz'd you now?

Cleo. No Madneſs at all: I ſay and will maintain it to the World, that Truth, in the *Sublime*, is very impertinent; and that in the Arts and Sciences, fit for Men of Taſte to look into, a Maſter cannot commit a more unpardonable Fault, than ſticking to, or being influenc'd by Truth, where it interferes with what is agreeable.

Hor. Homely Truths indeed——

Cleo. Look upon that *Dutch* Piece of the Nativity: what charming Colouring there is! what a fine Pencil, and how juſt are the Out-Lines for a Piece ſo curiouſly finiſh'd! But what a Fool the Fellow was to draw Hay and Straw and Cattle, and a Rack as well as a Manger: it is a Wonder he did not put the *Bambino* into the Manger.

Ful. The *Bambino?* That is the Child, I ſuppoſe; why it ſhould be in the Manger; ſhould it not? Does not the Hiſtory tell us,

that the Child was laid in the Manger? I have no Skill in Painting, but I can ſee whether things are drawn to the Life or not; ſure nothing can be more like the Head of an Ox than that there. A Picture then pleaſes me beſt when the Art in ſuch a Manner deceives my Eye, that without making any Allowances, I can imagine I ſee the Things in reality which the Painter has endeavour'd to repreſent. I have always thought it an admirable Piece; ſure nothing in the World can be more like Nature.

Cleo. Like Nature! So much the worſe; Indeed, Couſin, it is eaſily ſeen that you have no Skill in Painting. It is not Nature, but agreeable Nature, *la belle Nature*, that is to be repreſented; all Things that are abject, low, pitiful and mean, are carefully to be avoided, and kept out of Sight; becauſe to Men of the true Taſte they are as offenſive as Things that are ſhocking, and really naſty.

Ful. At that rate, the Virgin *Mary*'s Condition, and our Saviour's Birth, are never to be painted.

Cleo. That's your Miſtake; the Subject it ſelf is noble: Let us go but in the next Room and I'll ſhew you the Difference.——Look upon that Picture, which is the ſame Hiſtory. There's fine Architecture, there's a Colonnade; Can any thing be thought of more Magnificent? How skilfully is that

Aſs

Aſs removed, and how little you ſee of the Ox; pray mind the Obſcurity they are both placed in: It hangs in a ſtrong Light, or elſe one might look ten times upon the Picture without obſerving them: Behold theſe Pillars of the *Corinthian* Order, how lofty they are, and what an Effect they have, what a noble Space, what an *Area* here is! How nobly every thing concurs to expreſs the majeſtick Grandeur of the Subject, and ſtrikes the Soul with Awe and Admiration at the ſame time!

Ful. Pray Couſin, has good Senſe ever any Share in the Judgment which your Men of true Taſte form about Pictures?

Hor. Madam!

Ful. I beg pardon, Sir, if I have offended: but to me it ſeems ſtrange to hear ſuch Commendation given to a Painter, for turning the Stable of a Country Inn into a Palace of extraordinary Magnificence: This is a great deal worſe than *Swift*'s Metamorphoſis of *Philemon* and *Baucis*; for there ſome Shew of Reſemblance is kept in the Changes.

Hor. In a Country Stable, Madam, there is nothing but Filth and Naſtineſs, or vile abject Things not fit to be ſeen, at leaſt not capable of entertaining Perſons of Quality.

Ful. The *Dutch* Picture in the next Room has nothing that is offenſive: but an *Augean* Stable, even before *Hercules* had clean'd it, would be leſs ſhocking to me than thoſe

fluted Pillars; for no body can pleaſe my Eye that affronts my Underſtanding: When I deſire a Man to paint a conſiderable Hiſtory, which every body knows to have been tranſacted at a Country Inn, does he not ſtrangely impoſe upon me, becauſe he underſtands Architecture, to draw me a Room that might have ſerv'd for a great Hall or Banquetting-houſe to any *Roman* Emperor? Beſides that the poor and abject State in which our Saviour choſe to appear at his coming into the World, is the moſt material Circumſtance of the Hiſtory: it contains an excellent Moral againſt vain Pomp, and is the ſtrongeſt Perſuaſive to Humility, which in the *Italian* are more than loſt.

Hor. Indeed, Madam, Experience is againſt you; and it is certain, that even among the Vulgar the Repreſentations of mean and abject Things, and ſuch as they are familiar with, have not that Effect, and either breed Contempt, or are Inſignificant: whereas vaſt Piles, ſtately Buildings, Roofs of uncommon Height, ſurprizing Ornaments, and all the Architecture of the grand Taſte, are the fitteſt to raiſe Devotion and inſpire Men with Veneration and a Religious Awe for the Places that have theſe Excellencies to boaſt of. Is there ever a Meeting-houſe or Barn to be compared to a fine Cathedral, for this purpoſe?

Ful. I believe there is a Mechanical Way of raiſing Devotion in ſilly ſuperſtitious Creatures;

tures; but an attentive Contemplation on the Works of God, I am ſure ——

Cleo. Pray, Couſin, ſay no more in Defence of your low Taſte: The Painter has nothing to do with the Truth of the Hiſtory; his Buſineſs is to expreſs the Dignity of the Subject, and in Compliment to his Judges, never to forget the Excellency of our Species: All his Art and good Senſe muſt be employ'd in raiſing that to the higheſt pitch: Great Maſters don't paint for the common People, but for Perſons of refin'd Underſtanding: What you complain of is the Effect of the good Manners and Complaiſance of the Painter. When he had drawn the Infant and the *Madona*, he thought the leaſt glimpſe of the Ox and the Aſs would be ſufficient to acquaint you with the Hiſtory: They who want more ſeſcuing and a broader Explanation he don't deſire his Picture ſhould ever be ſhewn to; for the reſt, he entertains you with nothing but what is Noble and worthy your Attention: You ſee he is an Architect, and compleatly skill'd in Perſpective; and he ſhews you how finely he can round a Pillar, and that both the Depth and the Height of Space may be drawn on a Flat, with all the other Wonders he performs by his Skill in that inconceivable Myſtery of Light and Shadows.

Ful.

Ful. Why then is it pretended that Painting is an Imitation of Nature?

Cleo. At firſt ſetting out a Scholar is to copy things exactly as he ſees them; but from a great Maſter, when he is left to his own Invention, it is expected he ſhould take the Perfections of Nature, and not paint it as it is, but as we would wiſh it to be. *Zeuxis*, to draw a Goddeſs, took five beautiful Women, from which he cull'd what was moſt graceful in each.

Ful. Still every Grace he painted was taken from Nature.

Cleo. That's true; but he left Nature her Rubbiſh, and imitated nothing but what was excellent, which made the *Aſſemblage* ſuperior to any thing in Nature. *Demetrius* was tax'd for being too Natural; *Dionyſius* was alſo blamed for drawing Men like us. Nearer our times, *Michael Angelo* was eſteem'd too Natural, and *Lyſippus* of old upbraided the common ſort of Sculptors for making Men ſuch as they were found in Nature.

Ful. Are theſe things real?

Cleo. You may read it your ſelf in *Graham*'s Preface to *The Art of Painting*: the Book is above in the Library.

Hor. Theſe Things may ſeem ſtrange to you, Madam, but they are of immenſe Uſe to the Publick: The higher we can carry the Excellency of our Species, the more thoſe beautiful Images will fill noble Minds with

with worthy and ſuitable Ideas of their own Dignity, that will ſeldom fail of ſpurring them on to Virtue and Heroick Actions. There is a Grandeur to be expreſs'd in Things that far ſurpaſſes the Beauties of ſimple Nature. You take Delight in Opera's, Madam, I don't queſtion; you muſt have minded the noble Manner and Statelineſs beyond Nature, which every thing there is executed with. What gentle Touches, what ſlight and yet majeſtick Motions are made uſe of to expreſs the moſt boiſterous Paſſions! As the Subject is always lofty, ſo no Poſture is to be choſen but what is Serious and Significant as well as Comely and Agreeable; ſhould the Actions there be repreſented as they are in common Life, they would ruin the Sublime, and at once rob you of all your Pleaſure.

Ful. I never expected any thing Natural at an Opera; but as Perſons of Diſtinction reſort thither, and every body comes dreſs'd, it is a ſort of Employment, and I ſeldom miſs a Night, becauſe it is the Faſhion to go: Beſides, the Royal Family, and the Monarch himſelf, generally honouring them with their Preſence, it is almoſt become a Duty to attend them, as much as it is to go to Court. What diverts me there is the Company, the Lights, the Muſick, the Scenes, and other Decorations: but as I underſtand but very few Words of *Italian*, ſo what

is

is moſt admired in the *Recitativo* is loſt upon me, which makes the acting Part to me rather ridiculous than ——

Hor. Ridiculous, Madam! for Heaven's ſake ——

Ful. I beg pardon, Sir, for the Expreſſion. I never laught at an Opera in my Life; but I confeſs, as to the Entertainment it ſelf, that a good Play is infinitely more diverting to me; and I prefer any thing that informs my Underſtanding beyond all the Recreations which either my Eyes or my Ears can be regal'd with.

Hor. I am ſorry to hear a Lady of your good Senſe make ſuch a Choice. Have you no Taſte for Muſick, Madam?

Ful. I named that as part of my Diverſion.

Cleo. My Couſin plays very well upon the Harpſicord herſelf.

Ful. I love to hear good Muſick; but it does not throw me into thoſe Raptures, I hear others ſpeak of.

Hor. Nothing certainly can elevate the Mind beyond a fine Conſort: It ſeems to diſengage the Soul from the Body, and lift it up to Heaven. It is in this Situation, that we are moſt capable of receiving extraordinary Impreſſions: When the Inſtruments ceaſe, our Temper is ſubdued, and beautiful Action joyns with the skilful Voice in ſetting before us in a tranſcendent Light, the Heroick Labours we are come to admire, and which the Word

Opera

Opera imports. The powerful Harmony between the engaging Sounds and ſpeaking Geſtures invades the Heart, and forcibly inſpires us with thoſe noble Sentiments, which to entertain the moſt expreſſive Words can only attempt to perſuade us. Few Comedies are tollerable, and in the beſt of them, if the Levity of the Expreſſions does not corrupt, the Meanneſs of the Subject muſt debaſe the Manners; at leaſt to Perſons of Quality. In Tragedies the Style is more ſublime, and the Subjects generally great; but all violent Paſſions, and even the Repreſentations of them, ruffle and diſcompoſe the Mind: Beſides, when Men endeavour to expreſs Things ſtrongly, and they are acted to the Life, it often happens that the Images do Miſchief, becauſe they are too moving, and that the Action is faulty for being too natural; and Experience teaches us, that in unguarded Minds, by thoſe Pathetick Performances, Flames are often rais'd that are prejudicial to Virtue. The Play-houſes themſelves are far from being inviting, much leſs the Companies, at leaſt the greateſt part of them that frequent them, ſome of which are almoſt of the loweſt Rank of all. The Diſguſts that Perſons of the leaſt Elegance receive from theſe People are many; beſides the ill Scents and unſeemly Sights one meets with of careleſs Rakes and impudent Wenches, that, having paid their Mony, reckon themſelves to be all upon the Level with every Body

dy there; the Oaths, Scurrilities and vile Jeſts one is often obliged to hear, without reſenting them; and the odd mixture of high and low that are all partaking of the ſame Diverſion, without Regard to Dreſs or Quality, are all very offenſive; and it cannot but be very diſagreeable to polite People to be in the ſame Crowd with a Variety of Perſons, ſome of them below Mediocrity, that pay no Deference to one another. At the Opera every thing charms and concurs to make Happineſs compleat. The Sweetneſs of Voice in the firſt place, and the ſolemn Compoſure of the Action, ſerve to mitigate and allay every Paſſion; it is the Gentleneſs of them, and the calm Serenity of the Mind, that make us amiable, and bring us the neareſt to the Perfection of Angels; whereas the Violence of the Paſſions, in which the Corruption of the Heart chiefly conſiſts, dethrones our Reaſon, and renders us moſt like unto Savages. It is incredible, how prone we are to Imitation, and how ſtrangely, unknown to ourſelves, we are ſhaped and faſhioned after the Models and Examples that are often ſet before us. No Anger nor Jealouſy are ever to be ſeen at an Opera that diſtort the Features, no Flames that are noxious, nor is any Love repreſented in them, that is not pure and next to Zeraphick; and it is impoſſible for the Remembrance to carry any thing away from them, that can ſully the Imagination. *Secondly*, The Company

Company is of another ſort: the Place it ſelf is a Security to Peace, as well as every ones Honour, and it is impoſſible to name another, where blooming Innocence and irreſiſtible Beauty ſtand in ſo little need of Guardians. Here we are ſure never to meet with Petulancy or ill Manners, and to be free from immodeſt Ribaldry, Libertine Wit, and deteſtable Satyr. If you will mind, on the one hand, the Richneſs and Splendour of Dreſs, and the Quality of the Perſons that appear in them, the Variety of Colours, and the Luſtre of the Fair in a ſpacious Theatre, well illuminated and adorn'd; and on other, the grave Deportment of the Aſſembly, and the Conſciouſneſs, that appears in every Countenance, of the Reſpect they owe to each other, you will be forced to confeſs, that upon Earth there can not be a Paſtime more agreeable: Believe me, Madam, there is no Place, where both Sexes have ſuch Opportunities of imbibing exalted Sentiments, and raiſing themſelves above the Vulgar, as they have at the Opera; and there is no other ſort of Diverſion or Aſſembly from the frequenting of which young Perſons of Quality can have equal Hopes of forming their Manners, and contracting a ſtrong and laſting Habit of Virtue.

Ful. You have ſaid more in Commendation of Operas, *Horatio*, than I ever heard or thought of before; and I think every Body who loves that Diverſion is highly obliged to.

to you. The *grand Gout*, I believe, is a great help in Panegyrick, eſpecially, where it is an Incivility ſtrictly to examine and over-curiouſly to look into Matters.

Cleo. What ſay you now *Fulvia* of Nature and good Senſe, are they not quite beat out o' Doors?

Ful. I have heard nothing yet, to make me out of Conceit with good Senſe; tho' what you inſinuated of Nature, as if it was not to be imitated in Painting, is an Opinion, I muſt confeſs, which hitherto I more admire at, than I can approve of it.

Hor. I would never recommend any thing, Madam, that is repugnant to good Senſe: but *Cleomenes* muſt have ſome Deſign in over-acting the Part he pretends to have choſen. What he ſaid about Painting is very true, whether he ſpoke it in Jeſt or in Earneſt; but he talks ſo diametrically oppoſite to the Opinion which he is known every where to defend of late, that I don't know what to make of him.

Ful. I am convinced of the Narrowneſs of my own Underſtanding, and am going to viſit ſome Perſons, with whom I ſhall be more upon the Level.

Hor. You'll give me Leave to wait upon you to your Coach, Madam.——— Pray, *Cleomenes*, what is it you have got in your Head?

Cleo. Nothing at all: I told you before, that I was ſo entirely recover'd from my Folly

ly, that few People went my Lengths. What Jealouſy you entertain of me I don't know; but I find my ſelf much improv'd in the Social Syſtem. Formerly I thought, that Chief Miniſters, and all thoſe at the Helm of Affairs, acted from Principles of Avarice and Ambition; that in all the Pains they took, and even in the Slaveries they underwent for the Publick Good, they had their private Ends, and that they were ſupported in the Fatigue by ſecret Enjoyments they were unwilling to own. It is not a Month ago, that I imagin'd that the inward Care and real Sollicitude of all great Men Center'd within themſelves; and that to enrich themſelves, acquire Titles of Honour, and raiſe their Families on the one hand, and to have Opportunities on the other of diſplaying a judicious Fancy in all the Elegant Comforts of Life, and eſtabliſhing, without the leaſt Trouble of Self-denial, the Reputation of being wiſe, humane and munificent, were the Things, which, beſides the Satisfaction there is in Superiority and the Pleaſure of governing, all Candidates to high Offices and great Poſts propoſed to themſelves, from the Places they ſued for; I was ſo narrow-minded that I could not conceive how a Man would ever voluntarily ſubmit to be a Slave but to ſerve himſelf. But I have abandon'd that ill-natur'd way of judging: I plainly perceive the Publick Good, in all the Deſigns of Politicians, the ſocial Virtues ſhine in

every Action, and I find that the national Intereſt is the Compaſs that all Stateſmen ſteer by.

Hor. That's more than I can prove; but certainly there have been ſuch Men; there have been Patriots, that without ſelfiſh Views have taken incredible Pains for their Country's Welfare: Nay, there are Men now that would do the ſame, if they were employ'd; and we have had Princes that have neglected their Eaſe and Pleaſure, and ſacrificed their Quiet, to promote the Proſperity and encreaſe the Wealth and Honour of the Kingdom, and had nothing ſo much at Heart as the Happineſs of their Subjects.

Cleo. No Diſaffection, I beg of you. The Difference between paſt and preſent Times, and Perſons in and out of Places, is perhaps clearer to you than it is to me; but it is many Years ago, you know, that it has been agreed between us never to enter into Party Diſputes: What I deſire your Attention to is my Reformation, which you ſeem to doubt of, and the great Change that is wrought in me. The Religion of moſt Kings and other high Potentates, I formerly had but a ſlender Opinion of, but now I meaſure their Piety by what they ſay of it themſelves to their Subjects.

Hor. That's very kindly done.

Cleo. By thinking meanly of things, I once had ſtrange blundering Notions concerning Forcign Wars: I thought that many of them aroſe

aroſe from trifling Cauſes, magnify'd by Politicians for their own Ends; that the moſt ruinous Miſunderſtandings between States and Kingdoms might ſpring from the hidden Malice, Folly, or Caprice of one Man; that many of them had been owing to the private Quarrels, Piques, Reſentments, and the Haughtineſs of the chief Miniſters of the reſpective Nations, that were the Sufferers; and that what is call'd Perſonal Hatred between Princes ſeldom was more at firſt, than either an open or ſecret Animoſity, which the two great Favorites of thoſe Courts had againſt one another: But now I have learn'd to derive thoſe things from higher Cauſes. I am reconciled likewiſe to the Luxury of the Voluptuous, which I uſed to be offended at, becauſe now I am convinced that the Money of moſt rich Men is laid out with the ſocial Deſign of promoting Arts and Sciences, and that in the moſt expenſive Undertakings their principal Aim is the Employment of the Poor.

Hor. Theſe are Lengths indeed.

Cleo. I have a ſtrong Averſion to Satyr, and deteſt it every whit as much as you do: The moſt inſtructive Writings to underſtand the World, and penetrate into the Heart of Man; I take to be Addreſſes, Epitaphs, Dedications, and above all the Preambles to Patents, of which I am making a large Collection.

Hor. A very uſeful Undertaking!

Cleo. But to remove all your Doubts of my Converſion, I'll ſhew you ſome eaſy Rules I have laid down for young Beginners.

Hor. What to do?

Cleo. To judge of Mens Actions by the lovely Syſtem of Lord *Shaftsbury*, in a Manner diametrically oppoſite to that of *the Fable of the Bees.*

Hor. I don't underſtand you.

Cleo. You will preſently. I have call'd them Rules, but they are rather Examples from which the Rules are to be gather'd: As for inſtance, If we ſee an induſtrious poor Woman, who has pinch'd her Belly, and gone in Rags for a conſiderable time to ſave forty Shillings, part with her Money to put out her Son at ſix Years of Age to a Chimney-ſweeper; to judge of her charitably according to the Syſtem of the Social Virtues we muſt imagine, That tho' ſhe never paid for the ſweeping of a Chimney in her Life, ſhe knows by Experience that for want of this neceſſary Cleanlineſs the Broth has been often ſpoyl'd, and many a Chimney has been ſet o' Fire, and therefore to do good in her Generation, as far as ſhe is able, ſhe gives up her All, both Offſpring and Eſtate, to aſſiſt in preventing the ſeveral Miſchiefs that are often occaſion'd by great Quantities of Soot diſregarded; and, free from Selfiſhneſs, ſacrifices her only Son to the moſt wretched Employment for the Publick Welfare.

Hor.

Hor. You don't vy I ſee with Lord *Shaftsbury*, for Loftineſs of Subjects.

Cleo. When in a Starry Night with Amazement we behold the Glory of the Firmament, nothing is more obvious than that the whole, the beautiful *All*, muſt be the Workmanſhip of one great Architect of Power and Wiſdom ſtupendious; and it is as evident, that every thing in the Univerſe is a conſtituent Part of one entire Fabrick.

Hor. Would you make a Jeſt of this too?

Cleo. Far from it: they are awful Truths, of which I am as much convinced as I am of my own Exiſtence; but I was going to name the Conſequences, which Lord *Shaftsbury* draws from them, in order to demonſtrate to you, that I am a Convert and a punctual Obſerver of his Lordſhip's Inſtructions, and that in my Judgment on the poor Woman's Conduct, there is nothing that is not entirely agreeable to the generous way of thinking ſet forth and recommended in the *Characteriſticks*.

Hor. Is it poſſible a Man ſhould read ſuch a Book, and make no better uſe of it! I deſire you would name the Conſequences you ſpeak of.

Cleo. As that Infinity of luminous Bodies, however different in Magnitude, Velocity, and the Figures they deſcribe in their Courſes, concur all of them to make up the Univerſe, ſo this little Spot we inhabit is likewiſe a Com-

pound of Air, Water, Fire, Minerals, Vegetables and living Creatures, which, tho' vaſtly differing from one another in their Nature, do altogether make up the Body of this terraqueous Globe.

Hor. This is very right, and in the ſame manner as our whole Species is compoſed of many Nations of different Religions, Forms of Government, Intereſts and Manners that divide and ſhare the Earth between them, ſo the civil Society in every Nation conſiſts in great Multitudes of both Sexes, that widely differing from each other in Age, Conſtitution, Strength, Temper, Wiſdom and Poſſeſſions, all help to make up one Body Politick.

Cleo. The ſame exactly which I would have ſaid: Now, pray Sir, is not the great End of Men's forming themſelves into ſuch Societies, mutual Happineſs; I mean, do not all individual Perſons, from being thus combined, propoſe to themſelves a more comfortable Condition of Life, than human Creatures, if they were to live like other wild Animals, without Tie or Dependance, could enjoy in a free and ſavage State?

Hor. This certainly is not only the End, but the End which is every where attain'd to by Government and Society in ſome Degree or other.

Cleo. Hence it muſt follow that it is always wrong for Men to purſue Gain or Pleaſure, by Means that are viſibly detrimental to the civil

vil Society, and that Creatures, who can do this, muſt be narrow-ſoul'd, ſhort-ſighted, ſelfiſh People; whereas wiſe Men never look upon themſelves as individual Perſons, without conſidering the Whole, of which they are but trifling Parts in reſpect to Bulk, and are incapable of receiving any Satisfaction from Things that interfere with the Publick Welfare. This being undeniably true, ought not all private Advantage to give way to this general Intereſt; and ought it not to be every one's Endeavour, to encreaſe this common Stock of Happineſs; and, in order to it, do what he can to render himſelf a ſerviceable and uſeful Member of that whole Body which he belongs to?

Hor. What of all this?

Cleo. Has not my poor Woman, in what I have related of her, acted in Conformity to this Social Syſtem?

Hor. Can any one in his Senſes imagine, that an indigent thoughtleſs Wretch, without Senſe or Education, ſhould ever act from ſuch generous Principles?

Cleo. Poor I told you the Woman was, and I won't inſiſt upon her Education; but as for her being thoughtleſs and void of Senſe, you'll give me leave to ſay, that it is an Aſperſion, for which you have no manner of Foundation; and from the Account I have given of her, nothing can be gather'd but that ſhe was

a conſiderate, virtuous, wiſe Woman, in Poverty.

Hor. I ſuppoſe you would perſuade me, that you are in Earneſt.

Cleo. I am much more ſo than you imagine: and ſay once more, that in the Example I have given, I have trod exactly in my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Steps, and cloſely follow'd the Social Syſtem. If I have committed any Error, ſhew it me.

Hor. Did that Author ever meddle with any thing ſo low and pitiful?

Cleo. There can be nothing mean in noble Actions, whoever the Perſons are that perform them: But if the Vulgar are to be all excluded from the Social Virtues, what Rule or Inſtruction ſhall the labouring Poor, which are by far the greateſt part of the Nation, have left them to walk by, when the *Characteriſticks* have made a Jeſt of all reveal'd Religion, eſpecially the Chriſtian? But if you deſpiſe the Poor and Illiterate; I can in the ſame Method judge of Men in higher Stations. Let the Enemies to the Social Syſtem behold the venerable Counſellor, now grown eminent for his Wealth, that at his great Age continues ſweltering at the Bar to plead the doubtful Cauſe, and regardleſs of his Dinner ſhortens his own Life in endeavouring to ſecure the Poſſeſſions of others. How conſpicuous is the Benevolence of the Phyſician to his

his Kind, who, from Morning till Night viſiting the Sick, keeps ſeveral Sets of Horſes to be more ſerviceable to many, and ſtill grudges himſelf the time for the neceſſary Functions of Life! In the ſame manner the indefatigable Clergyman, who with his Miniſtry ſupplies a very large Pariſh already, ſollicites with Zeal to be as uſeful and beneficent to another, tho' fifty of his Order yet unemploy'd offer their Service for the ſame Purpoſe.

Hor. I perceive your Drift: From the ſtrain'd Panegyricks you labour at, you would form Arguments *ad abſurdum:* The Banter is ingenious enough, and at proper times might ſerve to raiſe a Laugh; but then you muſt own likewiſe, that thoſe ſtudy'd Encomiums will not bear to be ſeriouſly examin'd into. When we conſider that the great Buſineſs as well as perpetual Sollicitude of the Poor are to ſupply their immediate Wants, and keep themſelves from ſtarving, and that their Children are a Burden to them, which they groan under, and deſire to be deliver'd from by all poſſible Means, that are not claſhing with the low involuntary Affection which Nature forces them to have for their Offſpring: When, I ſay, we conſider this, the Virtues of your induſtrious Woman make no great Figure. The Publick Spirit likewiſe, and the generous Principles, your Sagacity has found out in the three Faculties, to which Men are brought

brought up for a Livelihood, ſeem to be very far fetch'd. Fame, Wealth and Greatneſs every Body knows are the Things that all Lawyers and Phyſicians aim at, that are any ways conſiderable: That many of them entirely devote themſelves to their Practice, with incredible Patience and Aſſiduity every Age can witneſs; but whatever Labour or Fatigue they ſubmit to, the Motives of their Actions are as conſpicuous as their Callings themſelves.

Cleo. Are they not beneficial to Mankind, and of Uſe to the Publick?

Hor. I don't deny that; we often receive ineſtimable Benefits from them, and the good ones in either Profeſſion are not only uſeful, but very neceſſary to the Society: But tho' there are ſeveral that ſacrifice their whole Lives, and all the Comforts of them, to their Buſineſs, there is not one of them that would take a quarter of the Pains he now is at, if without taking any he could acquire the ſame Money, Reputation, and other Advantages that may accrue to him from the Eſteem or Gratitude of thoſe whom he has been ſerviceable to; and I don't believe, there is an eminent Man among them that would not own this, if the Queſtion was put to him. Therefore when Ambition and the Love of Money are the avow'd Principles Men act from, it is very ſilly to aſcribe Virtues to them, which they themſelves pretend to lay no manner of claim

claim to. But your Encomium upon the Parſon is the merrieſt Jeſt of all: I have heard many Excuſes made, and ſome of them very frivolous, for the Covetouſneſs of Prieſts; but what you have pick'd out in their Praiſe is more extraordinary than any Thing I ever met with; and the moſt partial Advocate and Admirer of the Clergy never yet diſcover'd before your ſelf a great Virtue in their Hunting after Pluralities, when they were well provided for themſelves, and many others for want of Employ were ready to ſtarve.

Cleo. But if there be any Reality in the Social Syſtem, it would be better for the Publick if Men in all Profeſſions were to act from thoſe generous Principles; and you'll allow that the Society would be the Gainers, if the Generality in the three Faculties would mind others more and themſelves leſs than they do now.

Hor. I don't know that; and conſidering what Slavery ſome Lawyers, as well as Phyſicians, undergo, I much queſtion whether it would be poſſible for them to exert themſelves in the ſame manner, tho' they would, if the conſtant Baits and Refreſhments of large Fees did not help to ſupport Human Nature, by continually ſtimulating this darling Paſſion.

Cleo. Indeed, *Horatio*, this is a ſtronger Argument againſt the Social Syſtem, and more

more injurious to it, than any thing that has been ſaid by the Author whom you have exclaim'd againſt with ſo much Bitterneſs.

Hor. I deny that: I don't conclude from the Selfiſhneſs in ſome, that there is no Virtue in others.

Cleo. Nor he neither, and you very much wrong him if you aſſert that he ever did.

Hor. I refuſe to commend what is not Praiſe-worthy; but as bad as Mankind are, Virtue has an Exiſtence, as well as Vice, tho' it is more ſcarce.

Cleo. What you ſaid laſt no body ever contradicted; but I don't know what you would be at: Does not the Lord *Shaftsbury* endeavour to do Good, and promote the Social Virtues, and am I not doing the very ſame? Suppoſe me to be in the wrong in the favourable Conſtructions I have made of Things, ſtill it is to be wiſh'd for at leaſt, that Men had a greater Regard to the Publick Welfare, leſs Fondneſs for their Private Intereſt, and more Charity for their Neighbours, than the generality of them have.

Hor. To be wiſh'd for perhaps it may be, but what Probability is there that this ever will come to paſs?

Cleo. And unleſs that can come to paſs, it is the idleſt Thing in the World to diſcourſe upon, and demonſtrate the Excellency of Virtue; what ſignifies it to ſet forth the Beauty

Beauty of it, unleſs it was poſſible that Men ſhould fall in Love with it?

Hor. If Virtue was never recommended, Men might grow worſe than they are.

Cleo. Then by the ſame Reaſon, if it was recommended more, Men might grow better than they are. But I ſee perfectly well the Reaſon of theſe Shifts and Evaſions you make uſe of againſt your Opinion: You find your ſelf under a Neceſſity of allowing my Panegyricks, as you call them, to be juſt; or finding the ſame Fault with moſt of my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s; and you would do neither if you could help it: From Mens preferring Company to Solitude, his Lordſhip pretends to prove the Love and Natural Affection we have for our own Species: If this was examin'd into with the ſame Strictneſs as you have done every Thing I have ſaid in behalf of the three Faculties, I believe that the Solidity of the Conſequences would be pretty equal in both. But I ſtick to my Text, and ſtand up for the Social Virtues: The noble Author of that Syſtem had a moſt charitable Opinion of his Species, and extoll'd the Dignity of it in an extraordinary manner, and why my Imitation of him ſhould be call'd a Banter I ſee no Reaſon. He certainly wrote with a good Deſign, and endeavour'd to inſpire his Readers with refin'd Notions, and a Publick Spirit abſtract from Religion: The World enjoys the

Fruits

Fruits of his Labours, but the Advantage that is juſtly expected from his Writings can never be univerſally felt, before that Publick Spirit, which he recommended, comes down to the meaneſt Tradeſmen, whom you would endeavour to exclude from the generous Sentiments and noble Principles that are already ſo viſible in many. I am now thinking on two ſorts of People that ſtand very much in need of, and yet hardly ever meet with, one another: This Misfortune muſt have cauſed ſuch a Chaſm in the Band of Society, that no Depth of Thought or Happineſs of Contrivance could have fill'd up the Vacuity, if a moſt tender Regard for the Commonwealth, and the height of Benevolence did not influence and oblige others, mere Strangers to thoſe People, and commonly Men of ſmall Education, to aſſiſt them with their good Offices, and ſtop up the Gap. Many ingenious Workmen in obſcure Dwellings would be ſtarv'd in ſpight of Induſtry, only for want of knowing where to ſell the Product of their Labour, if there were not others to diſpoſe of it for them: And again, the Rich and Extravagant are daily furniſh'd with an infinite Variety of ſuperfluous Knick-knacks, and elaborate Trifles; every one of them invented to gratify either a needleſs Curioſity, or elſe Wantonneſs and Folly; and which they would never have thought of, much leſs wanted, had they never ſeen

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or known where to buy them. What a Bleſſing then to the Publick is the Social Toyman, who lays out a conſiderable Eſtate to gratify the Deſires of theſe two different Claſſes of People? He procures Food and Raiment for the deſerving Poor, and ſearches with great Diligence after the moſt skillful Artificers, that no Man ſhall be able to produce better Workmanſhip than himſelf: with ſtudy'd Civilities and a ſerene Countenance he entertains the greateſt Strangers; and, often ſpeaking to them firſt, kindly offers to gueſs at their Wants: He confines not his Attendance to a few ſtated Hours, but waits their Leiſure all Day long in an open Shop, where he bears the Summer's Heat and Winter's Cold with equal Chearfulneſs. What a beautiful Proſpect is here of Natural Affection to our Kind! For if He acts from that Principle, who only furniſhes us with Neceſſaries of Life, certainly He ſhews a more ſuperlative Love and Indulgence to his Species, who will not ſuffer the moſt whimſical of it to be an Hour deſtitute of what he ſhall fancy, even Things the moſt unneceſſary.

Hor. You have made the moſt of it indeed, but are you not tired yet with theſe Fooleries your ſelf?

Cleo. What Faults do you find with theſe kind Conſtructions; do they detract from the Dignity of our Species?

Hor.

Hor. I admire your Invention, and thus much I will own, that by over-acting the Part in that extravagant Manner, you have ſet the Social Syſtem in a more diſadvantageous Light than ever I had conſider'd it before: But the beſt Things, you know, may be ridicul'd.

Cleo. Whether I know that or not, Lord *Shaftsbury* has flatly denied it; and takes Joke and Banter to be the beſt and ſureſt Touchſtone to prove the Worth of Things: It is his Opinion, that no Ridicule can be faſten'd upon what is really great and good; his Lordſhip has made uſe of that Teſt to try the Scriptures and the Chriſtian Religion by, and expos'd them becauſe it ſeems they could not ſtand it.

Hor. He has expoſed Superſtition and the miſerable Notions the Vulgar were taught to have of God; but no Man ever had more Sublime Idea's of the Supreme Being and the Univerſe than himſelf.

Cleo. You are convinc'd, that what I charge him with is true.

Hor. I don't pretend to defend every Syllable that noble Lord has wrote. His Style is engaging, his Language polite, his Reaſoning ſtrong; many of his Thoughts are beautifully expreſs'd, and his Images, for the greateſt Part, inimitably fine. I may be pleaſed with an Author, without obliging my ſelf to anſwer every Cavil that ſhall be made againſt him.

him. As to what you call your Imitation of him, I have no Taſte in Burleſque: but the Laugh you would raiſe might be turn'd upon you with leſs Trouble than you ſeem to have taken. Pray when you conſider the hard and dirty Labours that are perform'd to ſupply the Mob with the vaſt Quantities of ſtrong Beer they ſwill, don't you diſcover Social Virtue in a Drayman?

Cleo. Yes, and in a Dray-horſe too; at leaſt as well as I can in ſome great Men, who yet would be very angry ſhould we refuſe to believe, that the moſt ſelfiſh Actions of theirs, if the Society receiv'd but the leaſt Benefit from them, were chiefly owing to Principles of Virtue, and a generous Regard to the Publick. Do you believe that in the Choice of a *Pope* the greateſt Dependance of the Cardinals, and what they principally rely upon, is the Influence of the Holy Ghoſt?

Hor. No more than I do Tranſubſtantiation.

Cleo. But if you had been brought up a *Roman* Catholick, you would believe both.

Hor. I don't know that.

Cleo. You would, if you was ſincere in your Religion, as thouſands of them are, that are no more deſtitute of Reaſon and good Senſe than you or I.

Hor. I have nothing to ſay as to that: there are many Things incomprehenſible, that yet are certainly true: Theſe are pro-

perly the Objects of Faith; and therefore when Matters are above my Capacity, and really ſurpaſs my Underſtanding, I am ſilent, and ſubmit with great Humility: but I will ſwallow nothing which I plainly apprehend to be contrary to my Reaſon, and is directly claſhing with my Senſes.

Cleo. If you believe a Providence, what Demonſtration can you have, that God does not direct Men in an Affair of higher Importance to all Chriſtendom than any other you can name?

Hor. This is an enſnaring, and a very unfair Queſtion. Providence ſuperintends and governs every Thing without Exception. To defend my Negative and give a Reaſon for my Unbelief, it is ſufficient, if I prove, that all the Inſtruments and the Means they make uſe of in thoſe Elections are viſibly human and mundane, and many of them unwarrantable and wicked.

Cleo. Not all the Means; becauſe every Day they have Prayers, and ſolemnly invoke the Divine Aſſiſtance.

Hor. But what Streſs they lay upon it may be eaſily gather'd from the reſt of their Behaviour. The Court of *Rome* is without diſpute the greateſt Academy of refin'd Politicks, and the beſt Schoo: to learn the Art of Caballing: there ordinary Cunning and known Stratagems are counted Ruſticity, and Deſigns are purſued through all the Mazes of human

human Subtlety. Genius there muſt give way to Fineſſe, as Strength does to Art in wreſtling; and a certain Skill, ſome Men have in concealing their Capacities from others, is of far greater Uſe with them, than real Knowledge or the ſoundeſt Underſtanding. In the Sacred College, where every Thing is *auro venale*, Truth and Juſtice bear the loweſt Price; Cardinal *Palavicini* and other Jeſuits that have been the ſtanch Advocates of the Papal Authority, have own'd with Oſtentation the *Politia Religioſa della chieſa*, and not hid from us the Virtues and Accompliſhments, that were only valuable among the *Purpurati*, in whoſe Judgment Over-reaching at any rate is the higheſt Honour, and to be outwitted, tho' by the baſeſt Artifice, the greateſt Shame. In Conclaves more eſpecially nothing is carried on without Tricks and Intrigue, and in them the Heart of Man is ſo deep and ſo dark an Abyſs that the fineſt Air of Diſſimulation is ſometimes found to have been inſincere, and Men often deceive one another by counterfeiting Hypocriſy. And is it credible that Holineſs, Religion, or the leaſt Concern for Spirituals, ſhould have any Share in the Plots, Machinations, Brigues and Contrivances of a Society, of which each Member, beſides the Gratification of his own Paſſions, has nothing at Heart but the Intereſt of his Party, right or wrong, and to diſtreſs every Faction that oppoſes it?

Cleo. Theſe Sentiments confirm to me, what I have often heard, that Renegades are the moſt cruel Enemies.

Hor. Was ever I a *Roman* Catholick?

Cleo. I mean from the Social Syſtem, of which you have been the moſt ſtrenuous Aſſerter; and now no Man can judge of Actions more ſeverely, and indeed leſs charitably, than yourſelf, eſpecially of the poor Cardinals. I little thought, if once I quitted the Scheme of Deformity, to have found an Adverſary in you; but we have both changed Sides, it ſeems.

Hor. Much alike, I believe.

Cleo. Nay, what could any body think to hear me making the kindeſt Interpretations of Things that can be imagin'd, and yourſelf doing quite the Reverſe?

Hor. What ignorant People, that knew neither of us, might have done, I don't know: but it has been very manifeſt from our Diſcourſe, that you have maintain'd your Cauſe by endeavouring to ſhew the Abſurdity of the contrary Side, and that I have defended mine by letting you ſee, that we were not ſuch Fools as you would repreſent us to be. I had taken a Reſolution never to engage with you on this Topick, but you ſee I have broke it: I hate to be thought uncivil; it was mere Complaiſance drew me in; tho' I am not ſorry that we talk'd of it ſo much as we did, becauſe I found your Opinions leſs dangerous than

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I imagin'd: you have own'd the Exiſtence of Virtue, and that there are Men who act from it as a Principle, both which I thought you denied: but I would not have you flatter yourſelf, that you deceiv'd me by hanging out falſe Colours.

Cleo. I did not lay on the Diſguiſe ſo thick, as not to have you ſee through it, nor would I ever have diſcours'd upon this Subject with any body, who could have been ſo eaſily impoſed upon. I know you to be a Man of very good Senſe and ſound Judgment; and it is for that very Reaſon I ſo heartily wiſh, you would ſuffer me to explain my ſelf, and demonſtrate to you how ſmall the Difference is between us, which you imagine to be ſo conſiderable: There is not a Man in the World, in whoſe Opinion I would leſs paſs for an ill Man than in yours; but I am ſo ſcrupulouſly fearful of offending you, that I never dared to touch upon ſome Points, unleſs you had given me leave. Yield ſomething to our Friendſhip, and condeſcend for once to read *the Fable of the Bees* for my Sake: It's a handſome Volume: you love Books: I have one extremely well bound; do; let me, ſuffer me to make you a Preſent of it.

Hor. I am no Bigot, *Cleomenes*; but I am a Man of Honour, and you know of ſtrict Honour: I cannot endure to hear that ridicul'd, and the leaſt Attempt of it chafes my Blood: Honour is the ſtrongeſt and nobleſt

Tye of Society by far, and therefore, believe me, can never be innocently ſported with. It is a Thing ſo ſolid and awful, as well as ſerious, that it can at no Time become the Object of Mirth or Diverſion; and it is impoſſible for any Pleaſantry to be ſo ingenious, or any Jeſt ſo witty, that I could bear with it on that Head. Perhaps I am ſingular in this, and, if you will, in the wrong: be that as it will, all I can ſay is, *Je n'entens pas Raillerie la deſſus*; and therefore no *Fable of the Bees* for me, if we are to remain Friends: I have heard enough of that.

Cleo. Pray, *Horatio*, can there be Honour without Juſtice?

Hor. No: Who affirms there can?

Cleo. Have you not own'd, that you have thought worſe of me, than now you find me to deſerve? No Men, nor their Works, ought to be condemn'd upon Hearſays, and bare Surmiſes, much leſs upon the Accuſations of their Enemies, without being examin'd into.

Hor. There you are in the right: I heartily beg your Pardon, and to attone for the wrong I have done you, ſay what you pleaſe, I'll hear it with Patience, be it never ſo ſhocking; but I beg of you be ſerious.

Cleo. I have nothing to ſay to you, that is diſtaſtful, much leſs ſhocking: all I deſire is to convince you, that I am neither ſo ill-natured nor uncharitable, in my Opinion of Mankind, as you take me to be; and that the Notions

Notions I entertain of the Worth of Things will not differ much from yours, when both come to be look'd into. Do but conſider what we have been doing: I have endeavour'd to ſet every thing in the handſomeſt Light I could think of; you ſay, to ridicule the Social Syſtem; I own it; now reflect on your own Conduct, which has been to ſhew the Folly of my ſtrain'd Panegyricks, and replace Things in that natural View, which all juſt, knowing Men would certainly behold them in. This is very well done: but it is contrary to the Scheme you pretended to maintain; and if you judge of all Actions in the ſame Manner, there's an End of the Social Syſtem; or at leaſt it will be evident, that it is a Theory never to be put into Practice. You argue for the Generality of Men, that they are poſſeſs'd of theſe Virtues, but when we come to Particulars you can find none; I have tried you every where: you are as little ſatisfied with Perſons of the higheſt Rank, as you are with them of the loweſt, and you count it ridiculous to think better of the midling People. Is this otherwiſe than ſtanding up for the Goodneſs of a Deſign, at the ſame time you confeſs, that it never was, or ever can be executed? What ſort of People are they, and where muſt we look for them, whom you will own to act from thoſe Principles of Virtue?

Hor. Are there not in all Countries Men of Birth and ample Fortune, that would not accept of Places, tho' they were offer'd, that are generous and beneficent, and mind nothing but what is great and noble?

Cleo. Yes: But examine their Conduct, look into their Lives, and ſcan their Actions with as little Indulgence as you did thoſe of the Cardinals, or the Lawyers and Phyſicians, and then ſee what Figure their Virtues will make beyond thoſe of the poor induſtrious Woman. There is, generally ſpeaking, leſs Truth in Panegyricks than there is in Satyrs. When all our Senſes are ſoothed, when we have no Diſtemper of Body or Mind to diſturb us, and meet with nothing that is diſagreeable, we are pleaſed with our Being: it is in this Situation, that we are moſt apt to miſtake outward Appearances for Realities, and judge of Things more favourably than they deſerve. Remember, *Horatio*, how feelingly you ſpoke half an Hour ago in Commendation of Opera's: Your Soul ſeem'd to be lifted up whilſt you was thinking on the many Charms you find in them. I have nothing to ſay againſt the Elegancy of the Diverſion, or the Politeneſs of thoſe that frequent them: but I am afraid you loſt yourſelf in the Contemplation of the lovely Idea, when you aſſerted that they were the moſt proper Means to contract a ſtrong and laſting Habit of Virtue: do you think that among the ſame Num-

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ber of People there is more real Virtue at an Opera, than there is at a Bear-garden?

Hor. What a Compariſon!

Cleo. I am very ſerious.

Hor. The Noiſe of Dogs and Bulls and Bears make a fine Harmony!

Cleo. It is impoſſible you ſhould miſtake me, and you know very well, that it is not the different Pleaſures of thoſe two Places I would compare together. The Things you mention'd are the leaſt to be complain'd of: The continual Sounds of Oaths and Imprecations, the frequent Repetitions of the Word *Lie*, and other more filthy Expreſſions, the Lowdneſs and Diſſonance of many ſtrain'd and untuneful Voices, are a perfect Torment to a delicate Ear. The Frowſineſs of the Place, and the ill Scents of different kinds, are a perpetual Nuiſance; but in all Mob Meetings——

Hor. L'odorat ſouffre beaucoup.

Cleo. The Entertainment in general is abominable, and all the Senſes ſuffer. I allow all this. The greaſy Heads, ſome of them bloody, the jarring Looks, and threatning, wild, and horrid Aſpects, that one meets with in thoſe ever-reſtleſs Aſſemblies, muſt be very ſhocking to the Sight, and ſo indeed is every thing elſe that can be ſeen among a rude and ragged Multitude that are cover'd with Dirt, and have in none of their Paſtimes one Action that is inoffenſive: But after all, Vice and what is criminal

criminal are not to be confounded with Roughneſs and want of Manners, no more than Politeneſs and an artful Behaviour ought to be with Virtue or Religion. To tell a premeditated Falſhood in order to do Miſchief, is a greater Sin, than to give a Man the Lie, who ſpeaks an Untruth; and it is poſſible, that a Perſon may ſuffer greater Damage and more Injury to his Ruin from Slander in the low Whiſper of a ſecret Enemy, than he could have receiv'd from all the dreadful Swearing and Curſing the moſt noiſy Antagoniſt could pelt him with. Incontinence, and Adultery it ſelf, Perſons of Quality are not more free from all over Chriſtendom, than the meaner People: But if there are ſome Vices, which the Vulgar are more guilty of than the better ſort, there are others the Reverſe. Envy, Detraction, and the Spirit of Revenge, are more raging and miſchievous in Courts than they are in Cottages. Exceſs of Vanity and hurtful Ambition are unknown among the Poor; they are ſeldom tainted with Avarice, with Irreligion never; and they have much leſs Opportunity of robbing the Publick than their Betters. There are few Perſons of Diſtinction, whom you are not acquainted with: I deſire, you would ſeriouſly reflect on the Lives of as many as you can think of, and next Opera Night on the Virtues of the Aſſembly.

Hor.

Hor. You make me ſaugh. There is a good deal in what you ſay; and I am perſuaded, all is not Gold that gliſters. Would you add any more?

Cleo. Since you have given me Leave to talk, and you are ſuch a patient Hearer, I would not ſlip the Opportunity of laying before you ſome things of high Concern, that perhaps you never conſider'd in the Light, which you ſhall own yourſelf they ought to be ſeen in.

Hor. I am ſorry to leave you; but I have really Buſineſs that muſt be done to-night: It is about my Law-ſuit, and I have ſtay'd beyond my time already: But if you will come and eat a Bit of Mutton with me to-morrow, I'll ſee no body but your ſelf, and we'll converſe as long as you pleaſe.

Cleo. With all my Heart. I'll not fail to wait on you.

THE SECOND

DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

Horatio and *Cleomenes.*

HORATIO.

THE Diſcourſe we had Yeſterday, has made a great Impreſſion upon me; you ſaid ſeveral Things, that were very entertaining, and ſome which I ſhall not eaſily forget: I don't remember, I ever look'd into myſelf ſo much as I have done ſince laſt Night after I left you.

Cleo. To do that faithfully, is a more difficult and a ſeverer Task, than is commonly imagin'd. When Yeſterday I ask'd you, where and among what ſort of People we were to look for thoſe, whom you would allow to act from Principles of Virtue, you named a Claſs, among whom I have found very agreeable Characters of Men, that yet all have their Failings:

Failings: If theſe could be left out, and the beſt were pick'd and cull'd from the different good Qualities that are to be ſeen in ſeveral, the Compound would make a very handſome Picture.

Hor. To finiſh it well every way would be a great Maſter-piece.

Cleo. That I ſhan't attempt: But I don't think it would be very difficult to make a little Sketch of it, that yet ſhould exceed Nature, and be a better Pattern for Imitation than any can be ſhewn alive. I have a Mind to try: the very Thought enlivens me. How charming is the Portrait of a complete Gentleman, and how raviſhing is the Figure which a Perſon of great Birth and Fortune, to whom Nature has been no Niggard, makes, when he underſtands the World, and is throughly well bred!

Hor. I think them ſo, I can aſſure you, whether you are in Jeſt or in Earneſt.

Cleo. How entirely well hid are his greateſt Imperfections! Tho' Money is his Idol, and he is covetous in his Heart, yet his inward Avarice is forc'd to give way to his outward Liberality, and an open Generoſity ſhines through all his Actions.

Hor. There lies your Fault: It is this I cannot endure in you.

Cleo. What's the matter?

Hor. I know what you are about, you are going to give me the *Caricatura* of a Gentleman,

man, under pretence of drawing his Portrait.

Cleo. You wrong me, I have no ſuch Thought.

Hor. But why is it impoſſible for Human Nature ever to be good? Inſtead of leaving out, you put in Failings without the leaſt Grounds or Colour. When Things have a handſome Appearance every way, what Reaſon have you to ſuſpect them ſtill to be bad? How came you to know, and which way have you diſcover'd, Imperfections that are entirely well hid; and why ſhould you ſuppoſe a Perſon to be covetous in his Heart, and that Money is his Idol, when you own yourſelf that he never ſhews it, and that an open Generoſity ſhines through all his Actions? This is monſtrous.

Cleo. I have made no ſuch Suppoſition of any Man, and I proteſt to you, that, in what I ſaid, I had no other Meaning than to obſerve, that whatever Frailties and natural Infirmities Perſons might be conſcious of within, good Senſe and good Manners were capable, and, without any other Aſſiſtance, ſufficient to keep them out of Sight: But your Queſtions are very ſeaſonable, and ſince you have ſtarted this, I will be very open to you, and acquaint you before-hand with my Deſign of the Deſcription I am going to make; and the Uſe I intend it for; which in ſhort is, to demonſtrate to you, That a moſt beautiful Super-

ſtructure may be rais'd upon a rotten and deſpicable Foundation. You'll underſtand me better preſently.

Hor. But how do you know a Foundation to be rotten that ſupports the Building, and is wholly conceal'd from you?

Cleo. Have Patience, and I promiſe you, that I ſhall take nothing for granted, which you ſhall not allow of yourſelf.

Hor. Stick cloſe to that, and I deſire no more: Now ſay what you will.

Cleo. The true Object of Pride or Vain-glory is the Opinion of others; and the moſt ſuperlative Wiſh, which a Man poſſeſs'd, and entirely fill'd with it can make, is, that he may be well thought of, applauded, and admired by the whole World, not only in the preſent, but all future Ages. This Paſſion is generally exploded, but it is incredible, how many ſtrange and widely different Miracles are and may be perform'd by the force of it; as Perſons differ in Circumſtances and Inclinations. In the firſt place, there is no Danger ſo great, but by the help of his Pride a Man may ſlight and confront it; nor any manner of Death ſo terrible, but with the ſame Aſſiſtance, he may court, and if he has a firm Conſtitution, undergo it with Alacrity. In the ſecond, there are no good Offices or Duties, either to others or ourſelves, that *Cicero* has ſpoke of, nor any Inſtances of Benevolence, Humanity, or other Social Virtue, that

Lord

Lord *Shaftsbury* has hinted at, but a Man of good Senſe and Knowledge may learn to practiſe them from no better Principle than Vain-glory, if it be ſtrong enough to ſubdue and keep under all other Paſſions, that may thwart and interfere with his Deſign.

Hor. Shall I allow all this?

Cleo. Yes.

Hor. When?

Cleo. Before we part.

Hor. Very well.

Cleo. Men of tolerable Parts in plentiful Circumſtances, that were artfully educated, and are not ſingular in their Temper, can hardly fail of a genteel Behaviour: The more Pride they have and the greater Value they ſet on the Eſteem of others, the more they'll make it their Study, to render themſelves acceptable to all they converſe with; and they'll take uncommon Pains to conceal and ſtifle in their Boſoms every thing, which their good Senſe tells them ought not to be ſeen or underſtood.

Hor. I muſt interrupt you, and cannot ſuffer you to go on thus. What is all this but the old Story over again, that every Thing is Pride, and all we ſee, Hypocriſy, without Proof or Argument? Nothing in the World is more falſe, than what you have advanced now; for according to that, the moſt noble, the moſt gallant, and the beſt-bred Man would be the proudeſt; which is ſo clashing with

with daily experience, that the very reverſe is true. Pride and Inſolence are no where more common than among Upſtarts; Men of no Family, that raiſe Eſtates out of nothing, and the moſt ordinary People, that having had no Education, are puff'd up with their Fortune, whenever they are lifted up above Mediocrity, and from mean Stations advanced to Poſts of Honour: Whereas no Men upon Earth, generally ſpeaking, are more Courteous, Humane, or Polite than Perſons of high Birth, that enjoy the large Poſſeſſions, and known Seats of their Anceſtors; Men illuſtrious by Deſcent, that have been uſed to Grandeur and Titles of Honour from their Infancy, and receiv'd an Education ſuitable to their Quality. I don't believe there ever was a Nation, that were not Savages, in which the Youth of both Sexes were not expreſsly taught never to be Proud or Haughty: Did you ever know a School, a Tutor, or a Parent, that did not continually inculcate to thoſe under their Care to be civil and obliging; nay, does not the word *Mannerly* itſelf import as much?

Cleo. I beg of you let us be calm, and ſpeak with exactneſs. The Doctrine of good Manners furniſhes us with a thouſand Leſſons againſt the various Appearances and outward Symptoms of Pride, but it has not one Precept againſt the Paſſion it ſelf.

Hor. How is that?

Cleo. No, not one againſt the Paſſion it ſelf; the Conqueſt of it is never attempted, nor talk'd of in a Gentleman's Education, where Men are to be continually inſpired and kept warm with the Senſe of their Honour, and the inward Value they muſt put upon themſelves on all Emergencies.

Hor. This is worth Conſideration, and requires time to be examin'd into; but where is your fine Gentleman, the Picture you promis'd?

Cleo. I am ready, and ſhall begin with his Dwelling: Tho' he has ſeveral noble Seats in different Counties, yet I ſhall only take notice of his chief Manſion-Houſe, that bears the Name, and does the Honours of the Family: this is amply Magnificent, and yet Commodious to Admiration. His Gardens are very extenſive, and contain an infinite variety of pleaſing Objects: they are divided into many Branches for divers Purpoſes, and every where fill'd with Improvements of Art upon Nature; yet a beautiful Order and happy Contrivance are conſpicuous through every Part; and tho' nothing is omitted to render them Stately and Delightful; the whole is laid out to the beſt Advantage. Within Doors every Thing beſpeaks the Grandeur and Judgment of the Maſter; and as no Coſt is ſpared any where to procure Beauty or Conveniency, ſo you ſee none impertinently laviſh'd. All his Plate and

and Furniture are completely fine, and you ſee nothing but what is faſhionable. He has no Pictures but of the moſt eminent Hands: The Rarities he ſhews are really ſuch; he hoards up no Trifles, nor offers any thing to your Sight that is ſhocking: But the ſeveral Collections he has of this ſort are agreeable as well as extraordinary, and rather valuable than large: But Curioſities and Wealth are not confin'd to his Cabinet; the Marble and Sculpture that are diſplay'd up and down are a Treaſure themſelves; and there is abundance of admirable Gilding and excellent Carving to be ſeen in many Places. What has been laid out on the great Hall and one Gallery would be a conſiderable Eſtate; and there is a Salloon and a Staircaſe not inferior to either: Theſe are all very ſpacious and lofty; the Architecture of them is of the beſt Taſte, and the Decorations ſurpriſing. Throughout the whole there appears a delicate mixture and aſtoniſhing Variety of lively Embelliſhments, the Splendor of which, join'd to a perfect Cleanlineſs, no where neglected, are highly entertaining to the moſt careleſs and leaſt obſerving Eye; whilſt the Exactneſs of the Workmanſhip beſtow'd on every Part of the meaneſt Utenſil, gives a more ſolid Satisfaction, and is raviſhing to the Curious. But the greateſt Excellency in this Model of Perfection is this; that as in the moſt ordina-

ry Rooms there is nothing wanting for their Purpoſe, and the leaſt Paſſage is handſomly finiſh'd; ſo in thoſe of the greateſt *Eclat* there is nothing overcharg'd, nor any Part of them incumbred with Ornaments.

Hor. This is a ſtudy'd Piece; but I don't like it the worſe for it, pray go on.

Cleo. I have thought of it before, I own. His Equipage is rich and well choſen, and there is nothing to be ſeen about him that Art or Expence, within the Compaſs of Reaſon, could make better. At his own Table his Looks are ever Jovial, and his Heart ſeems to be as open as his Countenance. His chief Buſineſs there is to take care of others without being troubleſome, and all his Happineſs ſeems to conſiſt in being able to pleaſe his Friends: In his greateſt Mirth he is wanting in Reſpect to no Man, and never makes uſe of Abbreviations in Names, or unhandſome Familiarities with the meaneſt of his Gueſts. To every one that ſpeaks to him he gives an obliging Attention, and ſeems never to diſregard any Thing but what is ſaid in Commendation of his Fare: He never interrupts any Diſcourſe but what is made in his Praiſe, and ſeldom aſſents to any Encomiums, tho' the moſt equitable, that are made on any thing that is His. When he is abroad he never ſpies Faults, and whatever is amiſs, he either ſays nothing; or, in anſwer to the Complaints

plaints and Uneaſineſs of others, gives every thing the beſt-natur'd turn it can bear; but he ſeldom leaves a Houſe before he finds out ſomething to extoll in it without wronging his Judgment. His Converſation is always facetious and good-humour'd, but as ſolid as it is diverting. He never utters a Syllable that has the leaſt Tincture of Obſcenity or Prophaneneſs; nor ever made a Jeſt that was offenſive.

Hor. Very fine!

Cleo. He ſeems to be entirely free from Bigotry and Superſtition, avoids all Diſputes about Religion; but goes conſtantly to Church, and is ſeldom abſent from his Family-Devotions.

Hor. A very godly Gentleman!

Cleo. I expected we ſhould differ there.

Hor. I don't find fault. Proceed, pray.

Cleo. As he is a Man of Erudition himſelf, ſo he is a Promoter of Arts and Sciences; he is a Friend to Merit, a Rewarder of Induſtry, and a profeſs'd Enemy to nothing but Immorality and Oppreſſion. Tho' no Man's Table is better furniſh'd, nor Cellars better ſtored; he is temperate in his Eating, and never commits exceſs in Drinking: Tho' he has an exquiſite Palate, he always prefers wholeſome Meats to thoſe that are delicious only, and never indulges his Appetite in any thing that might probably be prejudicial to his Health.

Hor. Admirably good!

Cleo. As he is in all other Things, ſo he is elegant in his Cloaths, and has often new ones: Neatneſs he prefers to Finery in his own Dreſs, but his Retinue is rich. He ſeldom wears Gold or Silver himſelf, but on very ſolemn Occaſions, in Compliment to others; and to demonſtrate that theſe pompous Habits are made for no other purpoſe, he is never ſeen twice in the ſame; but having appear'd in them one day, he gives them away the next. Tho' of every thing he has the beſt of the ſort, and might be call'd curious in Apparel; yet he leaves the Care of it to others; and no Man has his Cloaths put on better that ſeems ſo little to regard them.

Hor. Perfectly right; to be well dreſs'd is a neceſſary Article, and yet to be ſollicitous about it is below a Perſon of Quality.

Cleo. Therefore he has a Domeſtick of good Taſte, a judicious Man, who ſaves him that trouble, and the Management likewiſe of his Lace and Linnen is the Province of a skilful Woman. His Language is courtly, but natural and intelligible; it is neither low nor bombaſtick, and ever free from pedantick and vulgar Expreſſions. All his Motions are Genteel without Affectation; his Mein is rather Sedate than Airy, and his Manner Noble: for tho' he is ever Civil and Condeſcending, and no Man leſs Arrogant,

Arrogant, yet in all his Carriage there is ſomething gracefully Majeſtick; and as there is nothing mean in his Humility, ſo his Loftineſs has nothing diſobliging.

Hor. Prodigiouſly good!

Cleo. He is charitable to the Poor, his Houſe is never ſhut to Strangers, and all his Neighbours he counts to be his Friends. He is a Father to his Tenants, and looks upon their Welfare as inſeparable from his Intereſt. No Man is leſs uneaſy at little Offences, or more ready to forgive all Treſpaſſes without Deſign. The Injuries that are ſuffer'd from other Landlords he turns into Benefits; and whatever Damages, great or ſmall, are ſuſtain'd on his Account, either from his Diverſions or otherwiſe, he doubly makes good. He takes care to be early inform'd of ſuch Loſſes, and commonly repairs them before they are complain'd of.

Hor. Oh rare Humanity; hearken ye Fox-hunters!

Cleo. He never chides any of his People, yet no Man is better ſerv'd; and tho' nothing is wanting in his Houſe-keeping, and his Family is very numerous, yet the Regularity of it is no leſs remarkable, than the Plenty they live in. His Orders he will have ſtrictly obey'd, but his Commands are always reaſonable, and he never ſpeaks to the meaneſt Footman without Regard to Humanity. Extraordinary Diligence in Servants, and all laud-

able Actions he takes notice of himſelf, and often commends them to their Faces; but leaves it to his Steward to reprove or diſmiſs thoſe he diſlikes.

Hor. Well judg'd.

Cleo. Whoever lives with him is taken care of in Sickneſs as well as in Health: The Wages he gives are above double thoſe of other Maſters, and he often makes Preſents to thoſe, that are more than ordinary obſerving and induſtrious to pleaſe: but he ſuffers no body to take a Penny of his Friends or others, that come to his Houſe on any Account whatever. Many Faults are conniv'd at, or pardon'd for the firſt time, but a Breach of this Order is ever attended with the Loſs of their Places, as ſoon as it is found out; and there is a Premium for the Diſcovery.

Hor. This is the only exceptionable thing in my Opinion that I have heard yet.

Cleo. I wonder at that: Why ſo, pray?

Hor. In the firſt place, it is very difficult to enforce Obedience to ſuch a Command; Secondly, if it could be executed, it would be of little uſe; unleſs it could be made general, which is impoſſible: and therefore I look upon the Attempt of introducing this Maxim to be ſingular and fantaſtical. It would pleaſe Miſers and others, that would never follow the Example at Home; but it would take away from generous Men a handſome Opportunity of ſhewing their liberal and beneficent

Diſpo-

Diſpoſition: beſides, it would manifeſtly make ones Houſe too open to all ſorts of People.

Cleo. Ways might be found to prevent that; but then it would be a Bleſſing, and do great Kindneſs to Men of Parts and Education, that have little to ſpare, to many of whom this Money to Servants is a very grievous Burden.

Hor. What you mention is the only thing that can be ſaid for it, and I own, of great Weight: But I beg your Pardon for interrupting you.

Cleo. In all his Dealings he is punctual and juſt. As he has an immenſe Eſtate, ſo he has good Managers to take care of it: But tho' all his Accounts are very neatly kept, yet he makes it part of his Buſineſs to look them over himſelf. He ſuffers no Tradeſman's Bill to lie by unexamin'd, and tho' he meddles not with his ready Caſh himſelf, yet he is a quick and chearful, as well as an exact Pay-maſter; and the only Singularity he is guilty of, is, that he never will owe any thing on a New-Year's Day.

Hor. I like that very well.

Cleo. He is affable with Diſcretion, of eaſy Acceſs, and never ruffled with Paſſion. To ſum up all, no Man ſeems to be leſs elevated with his Condition than himſelf; and in the full Enjoyment of ſo many perſonal Accompliſhments, as well as other Poſſeſſions, his Modeſty is equal to the reſt of his Happineſs;

neſs; and in the midſt of the Pomp and Diſtinction he lives in, he never appears to be entertain'd with his Greatneſs, but rather unacquainted with the Things he excels in.

Hor. It is an admirable Character, and pleaſes me exceedingly; but I will freely own to you, that I ſhould have been more highly delighted with the Deſcription, if I had not known your Deſign, and the Uſe you intend to make of it; which, I think, is barbarous: to raiſe ſo fine, ſo elegant, and ſo complete an Edifice, in order to throw it down, is taking great Pains to ſhew ones Skill in doing Miſchief. I have obſerv'd the ſeveral Places where you left room for Evaſions, and ſapping the Foundation you have built upon. *His Heart ſeems to be as open*; and *He never appears to be entertain'd with his Greatneſs.* I am perſuaded, that, where-ever you have put in this *ſeeming* and *appearing*, you have done it deſignedly, and with an Intent to make uſe of them as ſo many Back-doors to creep out at. I could never have taken Notice of theſe Things, if you had not acquainted me with your Intention before-hand.

Cleo. I have made uſe of the Caution you ſpeak of: But with no other View than to avoid juſt Cenſure, and prevent your accuſing me of Incorrectneſs, or judging with too much Precipitation; if it ſhould be proved afterwards, that this Gentleman had acted from an ill Principle, which is the thing I own I purpos'd

purpos'd to convince you of; but ſeeing, that it would be unpleaſant to you, I'll be ſatisfied with having given you ſome ſmall Entertainment in the Deſcription, and for the reſt, I give you Leave to think me in the Wrong.

Hor. Why ſo? I thought the Character was made and contriv'd on purpoſe for my Inſtruction.

Cleo. I don't pretend to inſtruct you: I would have offer'd ſomething, and appeal'd to your Jndgment; but I have been miſtaken, and plainly ſee my Error. Both laſt Night and now, when we began our Diſcourſe, I took you to be in another Diſpoſition of thinking, than I perceive you are. You ſpoke of an Impreſſion that had been made upon you, and of looking into your ſelf, and gave ſome other Hints, which too raſhly I miſconſtrued in my Favour; but I have found ſince, that you are as warm as ever againſt the Sentiments I profeſs myſelf to be of; and therefore I'll deſiſt. I expect no Pleaſure from any Triumph, and I know nothing, that would vex me more, than the Thoughts of diſobliging you. Pray let us do in this as we do in another matter of Importance, never touch upon it: Friends in Prudence ſhould avoid all Subjects in which they are known eſſentially to differ. Believe me, *Horatio*, if it was in my Power to divert or give you any Pleaſure, I would grudge no Pains to compaſs that End: But to make you uneaſy, is a thing that I ſhall never be knowingly

ingly guilty of, and I beg a thouſand Pardons for having ſaid ſo much both Yeſterday and To-day. Have you heard any thing from *Gibraltar?*

Hor. I am aſhamed of my Weakneſs and your Civility: You have not been miſtaken in the Hints you ſpeak of; what you have ſaid has certainly made a great Impreſſion upon me, and I have endeavour'd to examine myſelf: But, as you ſay, it is a ſevere Task to do it faithfully. I deſired you to dine with me on purpoſe, that we might talk of theſe Things. It is I that have offended, and it is I that ought to ask Pardon for the ill Manners I have been guilty of: But you know the Principles I have always adhered to; it is impoſſible to recede from them at once. I ſee great Difficulties, and now and then a Glimpſe of Truth, that makes me ſtart: I ſometimes feel great Struggles within; but I have been ſo uſed to derive all Actions that are really good from laudable Motives, that as ſoon as I return to my accuſtom'd way of thinking, it carries all before it. Pray bear with my Infirmities. I am in Love with your fine Gentleman, and I confeſs, I cannot ſee how a Perſon ſo univerſally good, ſo far remote from all Selfiſhneſs, can act in ſuch an extraordinary manner every way, but from Principles of Virtue and Religion. Where is there ſuch a Landlord in the World? If I am in an Error, I ſhall be glad to be undeceiv'd. Pray

inform

inform me, and ſay what you will, I promiſe you to keep my Temper, and, I beg of you, ſpeak your Mind with Freedom.

Cleo. You have bid me before ſay what I would, and when I did, you ſeem'd diſpleas'd; but ſince you command me, I will try once more.—— Whether there is or ever was ſuch a Man as I have deſcrib'd in the World, is not very material: But I will eaſily allow that moſt People would think it leſs difficult, to conceive one, than to imagine, that ſuch a clear and beautiful Stream could flow from ſo mean and muddy a Spring as an exceſſive Thirſt after Praiſe, and an immoderate Deſire of general Applauſe from the moſt knowing Judges: Yet it is certain, that great Parts and extraordinary Riches may compaſs all this in a Man, who is not deform'd, and has had a refin'd Education; and that there are many Perſons naturally no better than thouſand others; who by the Helps mention'd might attain to thoſe good Qualities and Accompliſhments; If they had but Reſolution and Perſeverance enough, to render every Appetite and every Faculty ſubſervient to that one predominant Paſſion, which, if continually gratify'd, will always enable them to govern, and, if requir'd, to ſubdue all the reſt without Exception, even in the moſt difficult Caſes.

Hor. To enter into an Argument, concerning the Poſſibility of what you ſay, might occaſion a long Diſpute; but the Probability, I think,

think, is very clear againſt you, and if there was ſuch a Man, it would be much more credible, that he acted from the Excellency of his Nature, in which ſo many Virtues and rare Endowments were aſſembled, than that all his good Qualities ſprung from vicious Motives. If Pride could be the Cauſe of all this, the Effect of it would ſometimes appear in others: According to your Syſtem, there is no ſcarcity of it, and there are Men of great Parts and prodigious Eſtates all over *Europe*: Why are there not ſeveral ſuch Patterns to be ſeen up and down, as you have drawn us one; and why is it ſo very ſeldom, that many Virtues and good Qualities are ſeen to meet in one Individual?

Cleo. Why ſo few Perſons, tho' there are ſo many Men of immenſe Fortune, ever arrive at any thing like this high pitch of Accompliſhments, there are ſeveral Reaſons that are very obvious. In the firſt place, Men differ in Temperament: Some are naturally of an active, ſtirring; others of an indolent, quiet Diſpoſition; ſome of a bold, others of a meek Spirit. In the ſecond, it is to be conſider'd, that this Temperament in Men come to Maturity is more or leſs conſpicuous, according as it has been either check'd or encourag'd by Education. Thirdly, that on theſe two depend the different Perception Men have of Happineſs, according to which the Love of Glory determines them different ways. Some think

it

it the greateſt Felicity to govern and rule over others: Some take the Praiſe of Bravery and Undauntedneſs in Dangers to be the moſt valuable: Others, Erudition, and to be a celebrated Author: So that, tho' they all love Glory, they ſet out differently to acquire it. But a Man, who hates a Buſtle, and is naturally of a quiet, eaſy Temper, and which has been encouraged in him by Education, it is very likely might think nothing more deſirable than the Character of a Fine Gentleman; and if he did, I dare ſay, that he would endeavour to behave himſelf pretty near the Pattern I have given you; I ſay pretty near, becauſe I may have been miſtaken in ſome Things, and as I have not touch'd upon every thing, ſome will ſay, that I have left out ſeveral neceſſary ones: But in the main I believe, that in the Country and Age we live in, the Qualifications I have named would get a Man the Reputation I have ſuppoſed him to deſire.

Hor. Without doubt. I make no manner of ſcruple about what you ſaid laſt, and I told you before that it was an admirable Character, and pleas'd me exceedingly. That I took Notice of your making your Gentleman ſo very Godly as you did, was becauſe it is not common, but I intended it not as a Reflection. One thing indeed there was in which I differ'd from you; but that was merely ſpeculative; and, ſince I have reflected on what you

you anſwered me, I don't know, but I may be in the wrong, as I ſhould certainly believe myſelf to be, if there really was ſuch a Man, and he was of the contrary Opinion: To ſuch a fine Genius I would pay an uncommon Deference, and with great Readineſs ſubmit my Underſtanding to his ſuperiour Capacity. But the Reaſons you give, why thoſe Effects, which you aſcribe to Pride, are not more common, the Cauſe being ſo univerſal, I think are inſufficient. That Men are prompted to follow different Ends, as their Inclinations differ, I can eaſily allow; but there are great Numbers of rich Men that are likewiſe of a quiet and indolent Diſpoſition, and moreover very deſirous of being thought fine Gentlemen: How comes it, that among ſo many Perſons of high Birth, princely Eſtates and the moſt refin'd Education, as there are in Chriſtendom, that ſtudy, travel, and take great Pains to be well-accompliſh'd, there is not one, to whom all the good Qualities and every thing you named could be applied without Flattery?

Cleo. It is very poſſible, that thouſands may aim at this, and not one of them ſucceed to that Degree: in ſome perhaps the predominant Paſſion is not ſtrong enough entirely to ſubdue the reſt: Love or Covetouſneſs may divert others: Drinking, Gaming may draw away many, and break in upon their Reſolution; they may not have ſtrength to perſevere in a Deſign, and ſteadily to purſue the ſame Ends;

Ends; or they may want a true Taſte and Knowledge of what is eſteem'd by Men of Judgment; or laſtly they may not be ſo thoroughly well-bred as is required to conceal themſelves on all Emergencies: For the Practical Part of Diſſimulation is infinitely more difficult than the Theory; and any one of theſe Obſtacles is ſufficient to ſpoil all, and hinder the finiſhing of ſuch a Piece.

Hor. I ſhall not diſpute that with you: But all this while you have proved nothing, nor given the leaſt Reaſon why you ſhould imagine, that a Man of a Character, to all outward Appearance ſo bright and beautiful, acted from vicious Motives. You would not condemn him without ſo much as naming the Cauſe why you ſuſpect him.

Cleo. By no means; nor have I advanced any thing, that is ill-natured or uncharitable: For I have not ſaid, that if I found a Gentleman in Poſſeſſion of all the Things I mention'd, I would give his rare Endowments this Turn, and think all his Perfections derived from no better Stock than an extraordinary Love of Glory. What I argue for, and inſiſt upon, is, the Poſſibility that all theſe Things might be perform'd by a Man from no other Views, and with no other Helps, than thoſe I have named: Nay, I believe moreover, that a Gentleman ſo accompliſh'd, all his Knowledge and great Parts notwithſtanding, may himſelf be ignorant, or at leaſt

not well aſſured of the Motive he acts from.

Hor. This is more unintelligible than any thing you have ſaid yet; Why will you heap Difficulties upon one another, without ſolving any? I deſire you would clear up this laſt Paradox, before you do any thing elſe.

Cleo. In order to obey you, I muſt put you in mind of what happens in early Education, by the firſt Rudiments of which Infants are taught, in the Choice of Actions to prefer the Precepts of others, to the Dictates of their own Inclinations; which in ſhort is no more than doing as they are bid. To gain this Point, Puniſhments and Rewards are not neglected, and many different Methods are made uſe of; but it is certain, that nothing proves more often effectual for this Purpoſe, or has a greater Influence upon Children, than the Handle that is made of Shame; which, tho' a natural Paſſion, they would not be ſenſible of ſo ſoon, if we did not artfully rouze and ſtir it up in them, before they can ſpeak or go: By which means, their Judgments being then weak, we may teach them to be aſham'd of what we pleaſe, as ſoon as we can perceive them to be any ways affected with the Paſſion itſelf. But as the fear of Shame is very inſignificant, where there is but little Pride; ſo it is impoſſible to augment the firſt, without encreaſing the latter in the ſame Proportion.

Hor.

Hor. I ſhould have thought that this Encreaſe of Pride would render Children more ſtubborn and leſs docile.

Cleo. You judge right, it would ſo; and muſt have been a great Hindrance to good Manners, till Experience taught Men, that, tho' Pride was not to be deſtroy'd by Force, it might be govern'd by Stratagem, and that the beſt way to manage it, is by playing the Paſſion againſt itſelf. Hence it is that in an artful Education we are allow'd to place as much Pride as we pleaſe in our Dexterity of concealing it. I do not ſuppoſe, that this covering ourſelves, notwithſtanding the Pride we take in it, is perform'd without a Difficulty that is plainly felt, and perhaps very unpleaſant at firſt; but this wears off as we grow up; and when a Man has behaved himſelf with ſo much Prudence as I have deſcrib'd, lived up to the ſtricteſt Rules of good Breeding for many Years, and has gain'd the Eſteem of all that know him, when his noble and polite Manner is become habitual to him, it is poſſible, he may in time forget the Principle he ſet out with, and become ignorant, or at leaſt inſenſible of the hidden Spring, that gives Life and Motion to all his Actions.

Hor. I am convinc'd of the great Uſe that may be made of Pride, if you will call it ſo; but I am not ſatisfied yet, how a Man of ſo much Senſe, Knowledge and Penetration, one that underſtands himſelf ſo entirely well,

ſhould be ignorant of his own Heart, and the Motives he acts from. What is it that induces you to believe this, beſides the Poſſibility of his Forgetfulneſs?

Cleo. I have two Reaſons for it, which I deſire may be ſeriouſly conſider'd. The firſt is, that in what relates to ourſelves, eſpecially our own Worth and Exellency, Pride blinds the Underſtanding in Men of Senſe and great Parts as well as in others, and the greater Value we may reaſonably ſet upon ourſelves, the fitter we are to ſwallow the groſſeſt Flatteries in ſpight of all our Knowledge and Abilities in other Matters: Witneſs *Alexander the Great*, whoſe vaſt Genius could not hinder him from doubting ſeriouſly, whether he was a God or not. My ſecond Reaſon will prove to us; that, if the Perſon in queſtion was capable of examining himſelf, it is yet highly improbable, that he would ever ſet about it: For it muſt be granted, that in order to ſearch into ourſelves, it is required, we ſhould be willing as well as able; and we have all the Reaſon in the World to think, that there is nothing, which a very proud Man of ſuch high Qualifications would avoid more carefully, than ſuch an Enquiry: Becauſe for all other Acts of Self-denial he is repaid in his darling Paſſion; but this alone is really mortifying, and the only Sacrifice of his Quiet, for which he can have no Equivalent. If the Hearts of the beſt and ſincereſt Men are corrupt and deceitful,

ful, what Condition muſt theirs be in, whoſe whole Life is one continued Scene of Hypocriſy! Therefore enquiring within, and boldly ſearching into ones own Boſom, muſt be the moſt ſhocking Employment, that a Man can give his Mind to, whoſe greateſt Pleaſure conſiſts in ſecretly admiring himſelf. It would be ill Manners after this to appeal to your ſelf; but the Severity of the Task ....

Hor. Say no more, I yield this Point, tho' I own, I cannot conceive what Advantage you can expect from it: For, inſtead of removing, it will rather help to encreaſe the grand Difficulty, which is to prove, that this complete Perſon you have deſcrib'd, acts from a vicious Motive: And if that be not your Deſign, I cannot ſee what you drive at.

Cleo. I told you it was.

Hor. You muſt have a prodigious Sagacity in detecting abſtruſe Matters beyond other Men.

Cleo. You wonder, I know, which way I arrogate to my ſelf ſuch a ſuperlative Degree of Penetration, as to know an artful cunning Man better than he does himſelf, and how I dare pretend to enter and look into a Heart, which I have own'd to be completely well conceal'd from all the World; which in ſtrictneſs is an Impoſſibility, and conſequently not to be bragg'd of, but by a Coxcomb.

Hor. You may treat yourſelf as you pleaſe, I have ſaid no ſuch thing; but I own that I

long to ſee it proved, that you have this Capacity. I remember the Character very well: Notwithſtanding the Precautions you have taken, it is very full: I told you before, that where Things have a handſome Appearance every way, there can be no juſt Cauſe to ſuſpect them. I'll ſtick cloſe to that; your Gentleman is all of a piece: You ſhall alter nothing, either by retracting any of the good Qualities you have given him, or making Additions that are either claſhing with, or unſuitable to what you have allow'd already.

Cleo. I ſhall attempt neither: And without that deciſive Tryals may be made, by which it will plainly appear, whether a Perſon acts from inward Goodneſs and a Principle of Religion, or only from a Motive of Vain-glory; and, in the latter Caſe, there is an infallible way of dragging the lurking Fiend from his darkeſt Receſſes into a glaring Light, where all the World ſhall know him.

Hor. I don't think my ſelf a Match for you in Argument; but I have a great Mind to be your Gentleman's Advocate againſt all your Infallibility: I never liked a Cauſe better in my Life. Come, I undertake to defend him in all the Suppoſitions you can make, that are reaſonable, and conſiſtent with what you have ſaid before.

Cleo. Very well: Let us ſuppoſe what may happen to the moſt inoffenſive, the moſt prudent and beſt-bred Man; that our fine Gentleman

tleman differs in Opinion before Company, with another, who is his Equal in Birth and Quality, but not ſo much Maſter over his outward Behaviour, and leſs guarded in his Conduct: Let this Adverſary, *mal a propos*, grow warm, and ſeem to be wanting in the Reſpect that is due to the other, and reflect on his Honour in ambiguous Terms. What is your Client to do?

Hor. Immediately to ask for an Explanation.

Cleo. Which if the hot Man diſregards with Scorn, or flatly refuſes to give, Satisfaction muſt be demanded, and tilt they muſt.

Hor. You are too haſty: It happen'd before Company; in ſuch Caſes, Friends or any Gentlemen preſent, ſhould interpoſe and take care, that, if threatning Words enſue, they are by the civil Authority both put under Arreſt, and before they came to uncourteous Language, they ought to have been parted by friendly Force, if it were poſſible. After that, Overtures may be made of Reconciliation with the niceſt Regard to the Point of Honour.

Cleo. I don't ask for Directions to prevent a Quarrel; what you ſay may be done, or it may not be done: The good Offices of Friends may ſucceed, and they may not ſucceed. I am to make what Suppoſitions I think fit within the Verge of Poſſibility, ſo they are reaſonable and conſiſtent with the Character I

have drawn: Can we not ſuppoſe theſe two Perſons in ſuch a Situation, that you yourſelf would adviſe your Friend to ſend his Adverſary a Challenge?

Hor. Without doubt ſuch a thing may happen.

Cleo. That's enough. After that a Duel muſt enſue; in which, without determining any thing, the Fine Gentleman, we'll ſay, behaves himſelf with the utmoſt Gallantry.

Hor. To have expected or ſuppos'd otherwiſe would have been unreaſonable.

Cleo. You ſee therefore how fair I am. But what is it, pray, that ſo ſuddenly diſpoſes a courteous ſweet-temper'd Man, for ſo ſmall an Evil, to ſeek a Remedy of that extreme Violence? but above all, what is it, that buoys up and ſupports him againſt the Fear of Death? for there lies the greateſt Difficulty.

Hor. His natural Courage and Intrepidity, built on the Innocence of his Life, and the Rectitude of his Manners.

Cleo. But what makes ſo juſt and prudent a Man, that has the Good of Society ſo much at Heart, act knowingly againſt the Laws of his Country?

Hor. The ſtrict Obedience he pays to the Laws of Honour, which are ſuperior to all others.

Cleo. If Men of Honour would act conſiſtently, they ought all to be *Roman* Catholicks.

Hor.

Hor. Why, pray?

Cleo. Becauſe they prefer oral Tradition to all written Laws: For no body can tell, when, in what King's or Emperor's Reign, in what Country or by what Authority theſe Laws of Honour were firſt enacted: It is very ſtrange they ſhould be of ſuch Force.

Hor. They are wrote and engraved in every one's Breaſt that is a Man of Honour: there is no denying of it, you are conſcious of it your ſelf, every body feels it within.

Cleo. Let them be wrote or engraved where-ever you pleaſe, they are directly oppoſite to and claſhing with the Laws of God; and if the Gentleman I deſcibed was as ſincere in his Religion, as he appear'd to be, he muſt have been of an Opinion contrary to yours; for Chriſtians of all Perſuaſions are unanimous in allowing the Divine Laws to be far above all other; and that all other Conſiderations ought to give Way to them. How, and under what Pretence can a Chriſtian, who is a Man of Senſe, ſubmit or agree to Laws that preſcribe Revenge, and countenance Murder; both which are ſo expreſsly forbid by the Precepts of his Religion?

Hor. I am no Caſuiſt: But you know, that what I ſay is true; and that among Perſons of Honour a Man would be laugh'd at, that ſhould make ſuch a Scruple. Not but that I think killing a Man to be a great Sin, where

where it can be help'd; and that all prudent Men ought to avoid the Occaſion, as much as it is in their Power: He is highly blameable who is the firſt Aggreſſor and gives the Affront; and whoever enters upon it out of Levity, or ſeeks a Quarrel out of Wantonneſs, ought to be hang'd: No body would chuſe it, who is not a Fool; and yet, when is it forc'd upon one, all the Wiſdom in the World cannot teach him how to avoid it. It has been my Caſe, you know: I ſhall never forget the Reluctancy I had againſt it; but Neceſſity has no Law.

Cleo. I ſaw you that very Morning, and you ſeem'd to be ſedate and void of Paſſion: You could have no Concern.

Hor. It is ſilly to ſhew any at ſuch Times; but I know beſt what I felt; the Struggle I had within was unſpeakable: It is a terrible Thing. I would then have given a conſiderable Part of my Eſtate, that the Thing which forc'd me into it had not happen'd, and yet upon leſs Provocation I would act the ſame Part again to-morrow.

Cleo. Do you remember what your Concern was chiefly about?

Hor. How can you aſk? It is an Affair of the higheſt Importance, that can occur in Life; I was no Boy; it was after we came from *Italy*, I was in my nine and twentieth Year, had very good Acquaintance, and was not ill receiv'd: A Man of that Age, in Health

Health and Vigour, who has ſeven thouſand a Year, and the Proſpect of being a Peer of *England*, has no Reaſon to quarrel with the World, or wiſh himſelf out of it. It is a very great Hazard a Man runs in a Duel; beſides the Remorſe and Uneaſineſs one muſt feel as long as he lives, if he has the Misfortune of killing his Adverſary. It is impoſſible to reflect on all theſe Things, and at the ſame Time reſolve to run thoſe Hazards, (tho' there are other Conſiderations of ſtill greater Moment) without being under a prodigious Concern.

Cleo. You ſay nothing about the Sin.

Hor. The Thoughts of that, without doubt, are a great Addition; but the other Things are ſo weighty of themſelves, that a Man's Condition at ſuch a Time is very perplex'd without further Reflection.

Cleo. You have now a very fine Opportunity, *Horatio*, of looking into your Heart, and, with a little of my Aſſiſtance, examining yourſelf. If you can condeſcend to this, I promiſe you, that you ſhall make great Diſcoveries, and be convinc'd of Truths you are now unwilling to believe. A Lover of Juſtice and Probity, as you are, ought not to be fond of a Road of Thinking, where he is always forc'd to skulk, and never dares to meet with Light or Reaſon. Will you ſuffer me to ask you ſome Queſtions, and will

you

you anſwer them directly and in good Humour?

Hor. I will, without Reſerve.

Cleo. Do you remember the Storm upon the Coaſt of *Genoa?*

Hor. Going to *Naples?* very well; it makes me cold to think of it.

Cleo. Was you afraid?

Hor. Never more in my Life. I hate that fickle Element, I can't endure the Sea.

Cleo. What was you afraid of?

Hor. That's a pretty Queſtion: Do you think a young Fellow of ſix and twenty, as I was then, and in my Circumſtances, had a great Mind to be drown'd? The Captain himſelf ſaid we were in Danger.

Cleo. But neither he nor any body elſe diſcover'd half ſo much Fear and Anxiety as you did.

Hor. There was no body there, yourſelf excepted, that had half a quarter ſo much to loſe as I had: Beſides, they are uſed to the Sea; Storms are familiar to them. I had never been at Sea before, but that fine Afternoon we croſs'd from *Dover* to *Calais.*

Cleo. Want of Knowledge and Experience may make Men apprehend Danger where there is none; but real Dangers, when they are known to be ſuch, try the natural Courage of all Men; whether they have been uſed to them or not: Sailors are as unwilling to loſe their Lives as other People.

Hor.

Hor. I am not aſhamed to own, that I am a great Coward at Sea: Give me *Terra Firma*, and then ——

Cleo. Six or ſeven Months after you fought that Duel, I remember you had the Small-Pox; you was then very much afraid of dying.

Hor. Not without a Cauſe.

Cleo. I heard your Phyſicians ſay, that the violent Apprehenſion you was under, hinder'd your Sleep, increaſed your Fever, and was as miſchievous to you as the Diſtemper itſelf.

Hor. That was a terrible Time; I'm glad it is over: I had a Siſter died of it. Before I had it, I was in perpetual Dread of it, and many Times to hear it named only has made me uneaſy.

Cleo. Natural Courage is a general Armour againſt the Fear of Death, whatever Shape that appears in, *Si fractus illabatur orbis.* It ſupports a Man in tempeſtuous Seas, and in a burning Fever, whilſt he is in his Senſes, as well as in a Siege before a Town, or in a Duel with Seconds.

Hor. What! you are going to ſhew me, that I have no Courage.

Cleo. Far from it; it would be ridiculous to doubt a Man's Bravery, that has ſhewn it in ſuch an extraordinary manner as you have done more than once: What I queſtion is the Epithet you join'd to it at firſt, the Word *natural*;

natural; for there is a great Difference between that and *artificial* Courage.

Hor. That's a Chicane I won't enter into: But I am not of your Opinion, as to what you ſaid before. A Gentleman is not required to ſhew his Bravery, but where his Honour is concern'd; and if he dares to fight for his King, his Friend, his Miſtreſs, and every thing where his Reputation is engaged, you ſhall think of him what you pleaſe for the reſt. Beſides that in Sickneſs and other Dangers, as well as Afflictions, where the Hand of God is plainly to be ſeen, Courage and Intrepidity are impious as well as impertinent. Undauntedneſs in Chaſtiſements is a Kind of Rebellion: It is waging War with Heaven, which none but Atheiſts and Free-Thinkers would be guilty of; it is only they that can glory in Impenitence, and talk of dying hard. All others, that have any Senſe of Religion, deſire to repent before they go out of the World: The beſt of us don't always live, as we could wiſh to die.

Cleo. I am very glad to hear you are ſo religious: But don't you perceive yet, how inconſiſtent you are with yourſelf; how can a Man ſincerely wiſh to repent, that willfully plunges himſelf into a mortal Sin, and an Action where he runs a greater and more immediate Hazard of his Life, than he could have done in almoſt any other; without Force or Neceſſity?

Hor.

Hor. I have over and over own'd to you that Duelling is a Sin; and, unleſs a Man is forced to it by Neceſſity, I believe, a mortal one: But this was not my Caſe, and therefore I hope God will forgive me: Let them look to it that make a Sport of it. But when a Man comes to an Action with the utmoſt Reluctancy, and what he does is not poſſibly to be avoided, I think he then may juſtly be ſaid to be forc'd to it, and to act from Neceſſity. You may blame the rigorous Laws of Honour and the Tyranny of Cuſtom, but a Man that will live in the World muſt and is bound to obey them. Would not you do it yourſelf?

Cleo. Don't ask me what I would do: The Queſtion is, what every body ought to do. Can a Man believe the Bible, and at the ſame Time apprehend a Tyrant more crafty or malicious, more unrelenting or inhuman than the Devil, or a Miſchief worſe than Hell, and Pains either more exquiſite or more durable than Torments unſpeakable and yet everlaſting? You don't anſwer. What Evil is it? think of it, and tell me what diſmal Thing it is you apprehend, ſhould you neglect thoſe Laws, and deſpiſe that Tyrant: what Calamity could befall you? Let me know the worſt that can be fear'd.

Hor. Would you be poſted for a Coward?

Cleo. For what? for not daring to violate all human and divine Laws?

Hor.

Hor. Strictly ſpeaking you are in the right, it is unanſwerable; But who will conſider Things in that Light?

Cleo. All good Chriſtians.

Hor. Where are they then? for all Mankind in general would deſpiſe and laugh at a Man, who ſhould move thoſe Scruples. I have heard and ſeen Clergymen themſelves in Company ſhew their Contempt of Poltrons, whatever they might talk or recommend in the Pulpit. Entirely to quit the World, and at once to renounce the Converſation of all Perſons that are valuable in it, is a terrible Thing to reſolve upon. Would you become a Town and Table-talk? could you ſubmit to be the Jeſt and Scorn of Publick-Houſes, Stage Coaches, and Market-Places? Is not this the certain Fate of a Man, who ſhould refuſe to fight, or bear an Affront withoutReſentment? Be juſt, *Cleomenes*; is it to be avoided? Muſt he not be made a common Laughing-ſtock, be pointed at in the Streets, and ſerve for Diverſion to the very Children, to Link-boys and Hackney Coachmen? Is it a Thought to be born with Patience?

Cleo. How come you now to have ſuch an anxious Regard for what may be the Opinion of the Vulgar, whom at other Times you ſo heartily deſpiſe?

Hor. All this is Reaſoning, and you know the Thing will not bear it: How can you be ſo cruel?

Cleo. How can you be ſo backward in diſcovering and owning the Paſſion, that is ſo conſpicuouſly the Occaſion of all this, the palpable and only Cauſe of the Uneaſineſs we feel at the Thoughts of being deſpis'd?

Hor. I am not ſenſible of any; and I declare to you, that I feel nothing that moves me to ſpeak as I do, but the Senſe and Principle of Honour within me.

Cleo. Do you think that the loweſt of the Mob, and the Scum of the People, are poſſeſs'd of any Part of this Principle?

Hor. No, indeed.

Cleo. Or that among the higheſt Quality Infants can be affected with it before they are two Years old?

Hor. Ridiculous.

Cleo. If neither of theſe are affected with it, then Honour ſhould be either adventitious, and acquir'd by Culture; or, if contain'd in the Blood of thoſe that are nobly born, imperceptible 'till the Years of Diſcretion; and neither of them can be ſaid of the Principle, the palpable Cauſe I ſpeak of. For we plainly ſee on the one hand, that Scorn and Ridicule are intollerable to the pooreſt Wretches, and that there is no Beggar ſo mean or miſerable, that Contempt will never offend him: On the other, that human Creatures are ſo early influenced by the Senſe of Shame, that Children, by being laugh'd at and made a Jeſt of, may be ſet a crying before they can well

ſpeak or go. Whatever therefore this mighty Principle is, it is born with us, and belongs to our Nature: Are you unacquainted with the proper, genuine, homely Name of it?

Hor. I know you call it Pride. I won't diſpute with you about Principles and Origins of Things; but that high Value which Men of Honour ſet upon themſelves as ſuch, and which is no more than what is due to the Dignity of our Nature, when well cultivated, is the Foundation of their Character, and a Support to them in all Difficulties, that is of great Uſe to the Society. The Deſire likewiſe of being thought well of, and the Love of Praiſe and even of Glory are commendable Qualities, that are beneficial to the Publick. The Truth of this is manifeſt in the Reverſe; all ſhameleſs People that are below Infamy, and matter not what is ſaid or thought of them, theſe, we ſee, no body can truſt; they ſtick at nothing, and if they can but avoid Death, Pain, and penal Laws, are always ready to execute all manner of Miſchief, their Selfiſhneſs or any brutal Appetite ſhall prompt them to, without Regard to the Opinion of others: Such are juſtly call'd Men of no Principles, becauſe they have nothing of any Strength within, that can either ſpur them on to brave and virtuous Actions, or reſtrain them from Villainy and Baſeneſs.

Cleo. The firſt Part of your Aſſertion is very true, when that high Value, that Deſire, and that Love are kept within the Bounds of Reaſon: But in the ſecond there is a Miſtake; thoſe, whom we call Shameleſs, are not more deſtitute of Pride than their Betters. Remember what I have ſaid of Education, and the Power of it; you may add Inclinations, Knowledge, and Circumſtances; for as Men differ in all theſe, ſo they are differently influenced and wrought upon by all the Paſſions. There is nothing that ſome Men may not be taught to be aſhamed of. The ſame Paſſion, that makes the well-bred Man and prudent Officer value and ſecretly admire themſelves for the Honour and Fidelity they diſplay, may make the Rake and Scoundrel brag of their Vices and boaſt of their Impudence.

Hor. I cannot comprehend, how a Man of Honour, and one that has none, ſhould both act from the ſame Principle.

Cleo. This is not more ſtrange, than that Self-love may make a Man deſtroy himſelf, yet nothing is more true; and it is as certain, that ſome Men indulge their Pride in being ſhameleſs. To underſtand human Nature requires Study and Application, as well as Penetration and Sagacity. All Paſſions and Inſtincts in general were given to all Animals for ſome wiſe End, tending to the Preſervation and Happineſs either of themſelves or

their Species: It is our Duty to hinder them from being detrimental or offenſive to any Part of the Society; but why ſhould we be aſhamed of having them? The Inſtinct of high Value, which every Individual has for himſelf, is a very uſeful Paſſion: but a Paſſion it is, and though I could demonſtrate, that we ſhould be miſerable Creatures without it, yet, when it is exceſſive, it often is the Cauſe of endleſs Miſchiefs.

Hor. But in well-bred People it never is exceſſive.

Cleo. You mean the Exceſs of it never appears outwardly: But we ought never to judge of its Height or Strength from what we can diſcover of the Paſſion itſelf, but from the Effects it produces: It often is moſt ſuperlative, where it is moſt conceal'd; and nothing increaſes and influences it more, than what is call'd a refin'd Education, and a continual Commerce with the *Beau monde*; The only Thing, that can ſubdue or any ways curb it, is a ſtrict Adherence to the Chriſtian Religion.

Hor. Why do you ſo much inſiſt upon it, that this Principle, this Value Men ſet upon themſelves, is a Paſſion? And why will you chuſe to call it Pride rather than Honour?

Cleo. For very good Reaſons. Fixing this Principle in human Nature, in the firſt place, takes away all Ambiguity: Who is a Man of Honour, and who is not, is often a diſputable Point;

Point; and, among thoſe, that are allow'd to be ſuch, the ſeveral Degrees of Strictneſs in complying with the Rules of it, make great Difference in the Principle itſelf. But a Paſſion that is born with us is unalterable, and Part of our Frame, whether it exerts itſelf or not: The Eſſence of it is the ſame, which Way ſoever it is taught to turn. Honour is the undoubted Offspring of Pride, but the ſame Cauſe produces not always the ſame Effect. All the Vulgar, Children, Savages and many others that are not affected with any Senſe of Honour, have all of them Pride, as is evident from the Symptoms. Secondly, it helps us to explain the Phænomena that occur in Quarrels and Affronts, and the Behaviour of Men of Honour on theſe Occaſions, which cannot be accounted for any other Way. But what moves me to it moſt of all, is the prodigious Force and exorbitant Power of this Principle of Self-Eſteem, where it has been long gratify'd and encourag'd. You remember the Concern you was under, when you had that Duel upon your Hands, and the great Reluctancy you felt in doing what you did; you knew it to be a Crime, and at the ſame Time had a ſtrong Averſion to it; What ſecret Power was it, that ſubdued your Will and gain'd the Victory over that great Reluctancy you felt againſt it? You call it Honour, and the too ſtrict though unavoidable Adherence to the Rules of it: But Men ne-

ver commit Violence upon themſelves but in ſtruggling with the Paſſions that are innate and natural to them. Honour is acquir'd, and the Rules of it are taught: Nothing adventitious, that ſome are poſſeſs'd and others deſtitute of, could raiſe ſuch inteſtine Wars and dire Commotions within us; and therefore whatever is the Cauſe, that can thus divide us againſt ourſelves, and, as it were, rend human Nature in twain, muſt be Part of us; and to ſpeak without Diſguiſe, the Struggle in your Breaſt was between the Fear of Shame and the Fear of Death; had this latter not been ſo conſiderable, your Struggle would have been leſs: Still the firſt conquered, becauſe it was ſtrongeſt; but if your Fear of Shame had been inferior to that of Death, you would have reaſon'd otherwiſe, and found out ſome Means or other to have avoided Fighting.

Hor. This is a ſtrange Anatomy of human Nature.

Cleo. Yet, for want of making Uſe of it, the Subject we are upon is not rightly underſtood by many; and Men have diſcours'd very inconſiſtently on Duelling. A Divine who wrote a Dialogue to explode that Practice, ſaid, that thoſe, who were guilty of it, had miſtaken Notions of, and went by falſe Rules of Honour; for which my Friend juſtly ridicul'd him; ſaying, *You may as well deny, that it is the Faſhion what you ſee every body wear,*

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as to ſay, that demanding and giving Satisfaction is againſt the Law of true Honour. Had that Man underſtood human Nature, he could not have committed ſuch a Blunder: But when once he took it for granted, that Honour is a juſt and good Principle, without enquiring into the Cauſe of it among the Paſſions, it is impoſſible he ſhould have accounted for Duelling, in a Chriſtian pretending to act from ſuch a Principle; and therefore in another Place, with the ſame Juſtice, he ſaid, that a Man who had accepted a Challenge was not qualify'd to make his Will, becauſe he was not *Compos Mentis:* He might with greater Shew of Reaſon have ſaid, that he was bewitch'd.

Hor. Why ſo?

Cleo. Becauſe People out of their Wits, as they think at Random, ſo commonly they act and talk incoherently; but when a Man of known Sobriety, and who ſhews no manner of Diſcompoſure, diſcourſes and behaves himſelf in every thing, as he is uſed to do; and moreover, reaſons on Points of great Nicety with the utmoſt Accuracy, it is impoſſible we ſhould take him to be either a Fool or a Madman; and when ſuch a Perſon in an Affair of the higheſt Importance acts ſo diametrically againſt his Intereſt, that a Child can ſee it; and with Deliberation purſues his own Deſtruction, thoſe who believe that there are malignant Spirits of that Power, would rather imagine, that

he was led away by ſome Enchantment, and over-rul'd by the Enemy of Mankind, than they would fancy a palpable Abſurdity: But even the Suppoſition of that is not ſufficient to ſolve the Difficulty, without the Help of that ſtrange Anatomy. For what Spell or Witchcraft is there, by the Deluſion of which a Man of Underſtanding ſhall, keeping his Senſes, miſtake an imaginary Duty for an unavoidable Neceſſity to break all real Obligations? But let us wave all Ties of Religion as well as human Laws, and the Perſon we ſpeak of be a profeſs'd *Epicure*, that has no Thoughts of Futurity; what violent Power of Darkneſs is it, that can force and compel a peaceable quiet Man, neither inured to Hardſhip, nor valiant by Nature, to quit his beloved Eaſe and Security; and ſeemingly by Choice go fight in cold Blood for his Life, with this comfortable Reflection, that nothing forfeits it ſo certainly as the entire Defeat of his Enemy?

Hor. As to the Law and the Puniſhment, Perſons of Quality have little to fear of that.

Cleo. You can't ſay that in *France*, nor the Seven Provinces. But Men of Honour, that are of much lower Ranks, decline Duelling no more than thoſe of the higheſt Quality. How many Examples have we, even here, of gallant Men, that have ſuffer'd for it, either by Exile or the Hangman! A Man of Honour muſt fear nothing: Do but conſider every

every Obſtacle, which this Principle of Self-Eſteem has conquer'd at one Time or other; and then tell me whether it muſt not be ſomething more than Magick, by the Faſcination of which, a Man of Taſte and Judgment, in Health and Vigour, as well as the Flower of his Age, can be tempted and actually drawn from the Embraces of a Wife he loves, and the Endearments of hopeful Children, from polite Converſation and the Charms of Friendſhip, from the faireſt Poſſeſſions and the happy Enjoyment of all worldly Pleaſures, to an unwarrantable Combat, of which the Victor muſt be expoſed, either to an ignominious Death or perpetual Baniſhment.

Hor. When Things are ſet in this Light I confeſs it is very unaccountable: but will your Syſtem explain this; can you make it clear your ſelf?

Cleo. Immediately, as the Sun: If you will but obſerve two things, that muſt neceſſarily follow, and are manifeſt from what I have demonſtrated already. The firſt is, that the fear of Shame in general is a matter of Caprice, that varies with Modes and Cuſtoms, and may be fix'd on different Objects, according to the different Leſſons we have receiv'd, and the Precepts we are imbued with; and that this is the Reaſon, why this fear of Shame, as it is either well or ill-placed, ſometimes produces very good effects, and at others is the cauſe of the moſt enormous Crimes. Secondly

condly, that, tho' Shame is a real Paſſion, the Evil to be fear'd from it is altogether imaginary, and has no Exiſtence but in our own Reflection on the Opinion of others.

Hor. But there are real and ſubſtantial Miſchiefs which a Man may draw upon himſelf, by misbehaving in Point of Honour; it may ruin his Fortune and all hopes of Preferment: An Officer may be broken for putting up an Affront: No Body will ſerve with a Coward, and who will employ him?

Cleo. What you urge is altogether out of the Queſtion; at leaſt it was in your own caſe; you had nothing to dread or apprehend but the bare Opinion of Men. Beſides, when the fear of Shame is ſuperior to that of Death, it is likewiſe ſuperior to, and outweighs all other Conſiderations; as has been ſufficiently proved: But when the fear of Shame is not violent enough to curb the fear of Death, nothing elſe can; and whenever the fear of Death is ſtronger than that of Shame, there is no Conſideration that will make a Man fight in cold Blood, or comply with any of the Laws of Honour, where Life is at Stake. Therefore whoever acts from the fear of Shame as a Motive, in ſending and accepting of Challenges, muſt be ſenſible on the one hand, that the Miſchiefs he apprehends, ſhould he diſobey the Tyrant, can only be the Off-ſpring of his own Thoughts; and on the other, that if he could be perſuaded any ways

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to leſſen the great Eſteem and high Value he ſets upon himſelf, his Dread of Shame would likewiſe palpably diminiſh. From all which it is moſt evident, that the grand Cauſe of this Diſtraction, the powerful Enchanter we are ſeeking after, is Pride, Exceſs of Pride, that higheſt Pitch of Self-Eſteem, to which ſome Men may be wound up by an artful Education, and the perpetual Flatteries beſtow'd upon our Species, and the Excellencies of our Nature. This is the Sorcerer, that is able to divert all other Paſſions from their natural Objects, and make a rational Creature aſhamed of what is moſt agreeable to his Inclination as well as his Duty; both which the Duelliſt owns, that he has knowingly acted againſt.

Hor. What a wonderful Machine, what an heterogeneous Compound is Man! You have almoſt conquer'd me.

Cleo. I aim at no Victory, all I wiſh for is to do you Service, in undeceiving you.

Hor. What is the Reaſon that in the ſame Perſon the fear of Death ſhould be ſo glaringly conſpicuous in Sickneſs, or a Storm, and ſo entirely well hid in a Duel, and all military Engagements? Pray ſolve that too.

Cleo. I will as well as I can: On all Emergencies where Reputation is thought to be concern'd, the fear of Shame is effectually rous'd in Men of Honour, and immediately their Pride ruſhes in to their Aſſiſtance, and ſummons all their Strength to fortify and ſupport

port them in concealing the fear of Death; by which extraordinary Efforts, the latter, that is the fear of Death, is altogether ſtifled, or at leaſt kept out of Sight, and remains undiſcover'd. But in all other Perils, in which they don't think their Honour engaged, their Pride lies dormant. And thus the fear of Death being check'd by nothing, appears without Diſguiſe. That this is the Reaſon, is manifeſt from the different Behaviour that is obſerv'd in Men of Honour, according as they are either Pretenders to Chriſtianity or tainted with Irreligion; for there are of both Sorts; and you ſhall ſee, moſt commonly at leaſt, that your *Eſprits forts*, and thoſe who would be thought to disbelieve a future State, (I ſpeak of Men of Honour) ſhew the greateſt Calmneſs and Intrepidity in the ſame Dangers, where the pretended Believers among them appear to be the moſt ruffled and puſillanimous.

Hor. But why Pretended Believers? at that rate there are no Chriſtians among the Men of Honour.

Cleo. I don't ſee how they can be real Believers.

Hor. Why ſo?

Cleo. For the ſame Reaſon that a *Roman Catholick* cannot be a good Subject always to be depended upon, in a Proteſtant, or indeed any other Country, but the Dominions of his Holineſs. No Sovereign can confide with Safety in a Man's Allegiance, who owns and

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pays Homage to another Superior Power upon Earth. I am ſure, you underſtand me.

Hor. Too well.

Cleo. You may yoke a Knight with a Prebendary, and put them together into the ſame Stall; but Honour and the Chriſtian Religion make no Couple, *nec in unâ ſede morantur*, any more than Majeſty and Love. Look back on your own Conduct, and you ſhall find, that what you ſaid of the Hand of God was only a Shift, an Evaſion, you made to ſerve your then preſent Purpoſe. On another Occaſion, you had ſaid Yeſterday yourſelf, that Providence ſuperintends and governs every thing without Exception; you muſt therefore have known, that the Hand of God is as much to be ſeen in one common Accident in Life, and in one Misfortune, as it is in another, that is not more extraordinary. A ſevere Fit of Sickneſs may be leſs fatal, than a ſlight Skirmiſh between two hoſtile Parties; and among Men of Honour there is often as much Danger in a Quarrel about nothing, as there can be in the moſt violent Storm. It is impoſſible therefore that a Man of Senſe, who has a ſolid Principle to go by, ſhould in one ſort of Danger think it Impiety not to ſhew Fear, and in another be aſhamed to be thought to have any. Do but conſider your own Inconſiſtency with yourſelf. At one time, to juſtify your fear of Death, when Pride is abſent, you become religious on a ſudden, and your Conſci-

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ence then is ſo tenderly ſcrupulous, that to be undaunted under Chaſtiſements from the Almighty, ſeems no leſs to you than waging War with Heaven; and at another, when Honour calls, you dare not only knowingly and wilfully break the moſt poſitive Command of God, but likewiſe to own; that the greateſt Calamity, which, in your Opinion, can befall you, is, that the World ſhould believe, or but ſuſpect of you, that you had any Scruple about it. I defy the Wit of Man to carry the Affront to the Divine Majeſty higher. Barely to deny his Being is not half ſo daring, as it is to do this after you have own'd him to exiſt. No Atheiſm——

Hor. Hold, *Cleomenes*; I can no longer reſiſt the Force of Truth, and I am reſolved to be better acquainted with myſelf for the future. Let me become your Pupil.

Cleo. Don't banter me, *Horatio*; I don't pretend to inſtruct a Man of your Knowledge; but if you will take my Advice, ſearch into yourſelf with Care and Boldneſs, and at your Leiſure peruſe the Book I recommended.

Hor. I promiſe you, I will, and ſhall be glad to accept of the handſome Preſent I refus'd: Pray ſend a Servant with it to Morrow-morning.

Cleo. It's a Trifle. You had better let one of yours go with me now; I ſhall drive Home directly.

Hor. I underſtand your Scruple. It ſhall be as you pleaſe.

THE

THE THIRD DIALOGUE BETWEEN *Horatio* and *Cleomenes*.

HORATIO.

I Thank you for your Book.

Cleo. Your Acceptance of it I acknowledge as a great Favour.

Hor. I confeſs that once I thought no body could have perſuaded me to read it; but you managed me very skilfully, and nothing could have convinced me ſo well as the Inſtance of Duelling: The Argument *a majori ad minus* ſtruck me, without your mentioning it. A Paſſion that can ſubdue the fear of Death may blind a Man's Underſtanding, and do almoſt every thing elſe.

Cleo. It is incredible, what ſtrange, various, unaccountable and contradictory Forms we may be ſhaped into by a Paſſion, that is not to be gratify'd without being conceal'd, and never enjoy'd with greater Ecſtaſy than when

when we are moſt fully perſuaded, that it is well hid: and therefore there is no Benevolence or good Nature, no amiable Quality, or ſocial Virtue, that may not be counterfeited by it; and in ſhort no Atchievment good or bad, that the human Body or Mind are capable of, which it may not ſeem to perform. As to its blinding and infatuating the Perſons poſſeſs'd with it to a high Degree, there is no Doubt of it: for what Strength of Reaſon, I pray, what Judgment or Penetration has the greateſt Genius, if he pretends to any Religion, to boaſt of; after he has own'd himſelf to have been more terrify'd by groundleſs Apprehenſions, and an imaginary Evil from vain impotent Men, whom he has never injured, than he was alarm'd with the juſt Fears of a real Puniſhment from an all-wiſe and omnipotent God, whom he has highly offended?

Hor. But your Friend makes no ſuch Religious Reflections: he actually ſpeaks in Favour of Duelling.

Cleo. What, becauſe he would have the Laws againſt it as ſevere as poſſible, and no Body pardon'd without Exception that offends that way?

Hor. That indeed ſeems to diſcourage it; but he ſhews the Neceſſity of keeping up that Cuſtom, to poliſh and brighten Society in general.

Cleo. Don't you ſee the Irony there?

Hor.

Hor. No indeed: he plainly demonſtrates the Uſefulneſs of it, gives as good Reaſons as it is poſſible to invent, and ſhews how much Converſation would ſuffer if that Practice was aboliſhed.

Cleo. Can you think a Man ſerious on a Subject, when he leaves it in the manner he does?

Hor. I don't remember that.

Cleo. Here is the Book: I'll look for the Paſſage —— Pray read this.

Hor. It is ſtrange that a Nation ſhould grudge to ſee perhaps half a dozen Men ſacrifiſed in a Twelve-month to obtain ſo valuable a Bleſſing, as the Politeneſs of Manners, the Pleaſure of Converſation, and the Happineſs of Company in general, that is often ſo willing to expoſe, and ſometimes loſes as many thouſands in a few Hours, without knowing whether it will do any good or not. This indeed ſeems to be ſaid with a Sneer: but in what goes before he is very ſerious.

Cleo. He is ſo, when he ſays that the Practice of Duelling, that is the keeping up of the Faſhion of it, contributes to the Politeneſs of Manners and Pleaſure of Converſation, and this is very true; but that Politeneſs itſelf, and that Pleaſure, are the Things he laughs at and expoſes throughout his Book.

Hor. But who knows, what to make of a Man, who recommends a thing very ſeriouſly in one Page, and ridicules it in the next?

Cleo. It is his Opinion, that there is no ſolid Principle to go by but the Chriſtian Religion, and that few embrace it with Sincerity: Always look upon him in this View, and you'll never find him inconſiſtent with himſelf. Whenever at firſt ſight he ſeems to be ſo, look again, and upon nearer Enquiry you'll find; that he is only pointing at or labouring, to detect the Inconſiſtency of others with the Principles they pretend to.

Hor. He ſeems to have nothing leſs at Heart than Religion.

Cleo. That's true, and if he had appear'd otherwiſe, he would never have been read by the People whom he deſign'd his Book for, the Modern Deiſts and all the *Beau Monde:* It is thoſe he wants to come at. To the firſt he ſets forth the Origin and Inſufficiency of Virtue, and their own Inſincerity in the Practice of it: To the reſt he ſhews the Folly of Vice and Pleaſure, the Vanity of Worldly Greatneſs, and the Hypocriſy of all thoſe Divines, who pretending to preach the Goſpel, give and take Allowances that are inconſiſtent with, and quite contrary to the Precepts of it.

Hor. But this is not the Opinion the World has of the Book, it is commonly imagin'd, that it is wrote for the Encouragement of Vice, and to debauch the Nation.

Cleo. Have you found any ſuch thing in it?

Hor. To ſpeak my Conſcience, I muſt confeſs, I have not: Vice is expos'd in it, and

laugh'd at; but it ridicules War and martial Courage, as well as Honour and every thing elſe.

Cleo. Pardon me, Religion is ridiculed in no part of it.

Hor. But if it is a good Book, why then are ſo many of the Clergy ſo much againſt it as they are?

Cleo. For the Reaſon I have given you: My Friend has expos'd their Lives, but he has done it in ſuch a Manner, that no Body can ſay he has wrong'd them, or treated them harſhly. People are never more vex'd, than when the thing that offends them, is what they muſt not complain of: They give the Book an ill Name, becauſe they are angry, but it is not their Intereſt, to tell you the true Reaſon why they are ſo. I could draw you a Parallel Caſe that would clear up this Matter, if you would have Patience to hear me, which, as you are a great Admirer of Opera's, I can hardly expect.

Hor. Any thing to be inform'd.

Cleo. I always had ſuch an Averſion to Eunuchs, as no fine ſinging or acting of any of them has yet been able to conquer; when I hear a Feminine Voice, I look for a Petticoat; and I perfectly loath the ſight of thoſe Sexleſs Animals. Suppoſe that a Man with the ſame Diſlike to them had Wit at will, and a Mind to laſh that abominable piece of Luxury, by which Men are thought in cold Blood to ſpoil Males for Diverſion, and out of Wantonneſs

to make waſte of their own Species. In order to this, we'll ſay, he takes a Handle from the Operation itſelf; he deſcribes and treats it in the moſt inoffenſive Manner; then ſhews the narrow Bounds of human Knowledge, and the ſmall Aſſiſtance we can have, either from Diſſection or Philoſophy, or any part of the Mathematicks to trace and penetrate into the Cauſe *a Priori*, why this deſtroying of Manhood ſhould have that ſurprizing Effect upon the Voice; and afterwards demonſtrates, how ſure we are *a Poſteriori*, that it has a conſiderable Influence, not only on the *Pharinx*, the Glands and Muſcles of the Throat, but likewiſe the Windpipe, and the Lungs themſelves, and in ſhort on the whole Maſs of Blood, and conſequently all the Juices of the Body, and every Fibre in it. He might ſay likewiſe, that no Honey, no Preparations of Sugar, Raiſins, or *Sperma Ceti*; no Emulſions, Lozenges or other Medicines, cooling or balſamick; no Bleeding, no Temperance or Choice in Eatables; no Abſtinence from Women, from Wine, and every thing that is hot, ſharp or ſpirituous, were of that Efficacy to preſerve, ſweeten and ſtrengthen the Voice; he might inſiſt upon it, that nothing could do this ſo effectually as Caſtration. For a Blind to his main Scope, and to amuſe his Readers, he might ſpeak of this Practice, as made uſe of for other Purpoſes; that it had been inflicted as a ſolemn Puniſhment for analogous Crimes;

Crimes; that others had voluntarily ſubmitted to it, to preſerve Health and prolong Life; whilſt the *Romans* by *Cæſar*'s Teſtimony thought it more cruel than Death, *morte gravius*. How it had been uſed ſometimes by way of Revenge; and then ſay ſomething in Pity of poor *Abelard*; at other times for Precaution; and then relate the Story of *Combabus* and *Stratonice*: with Scraps from *Martial*, *Juvenal*, and other Poets, he might interlard it, and from a thouſand pleaſant Things that have been ſaid on the Subject, he might pick out the moſt diverting to embelliſh the whole. His Deſign being Satyr, he would blame our Fondneſs for theſe *Caſtrati*, and ridicule the Age in which a brave *Engliſh* Nobleman and a General Officer ſerves his Country at the hazard of his Life, a whole Twelvemonth, for leſs Pay than an *Italian* No-man of Scoundrel Extraction receives for now and then ſinging a Song in great Safety, during only the Winter Seaſon. He would laugh at the Careſſes and the Court that are made to them by Perſons of the firſt Quality, who proſtitute their Familiarity with theſe moſt abject Wretches, and miſplace the Honour and Civilities only due to their Equals, on Things that are no part of the Creation, and owe their Being to the Surgeon; Animals ſo contemptible, that they can curſe their Maker without Ingratitude. If he ſhould call this Book, *the Eunuch is the Man*; as ſoon

as I heard the Title, before I ſaw the Book, I ſhould underſtand by it, that Eunuchs were now eſteem'd, that they were in Faſhion and in the Publick Favour, and conſidering that a Eunuch is in Reality not a Man, I ſhould think it was a Banter upon Eunuchs, or a Satyr againſt thoſe, who had a greater Value for them than they deſerv'd. But if the Gentlemen of the Academy of Muſick, diſpleas'd at the Freedom they were treated with, ſhould take it ill, that a paultry Scribler ſhould interfere and pretend to cenſure their Diverſion, as well they might; if they ſhould be very angry, and ſtudy to do him a Miſchief, and accordingly, not having much to ſay in Behalf of Eunuchs, not touch upon any thing the Author had ſaid againſt their Pleaſure, but repreſent him to the World as an Advocate for Caſtration, and endeavour to draw the publick *Odium* upon him by Quotations taken from him proper for that purpoſe, it would not be difficult to raiſe a Clamour againſt the Author, or find a grand Jury to preſent his Book.

Hor. The *Simile* holds very well as to the Injuſtice of the Accuſation, and the Inſincerity of the Complaint; but is it as true, that Luxury will render a Nation flouriſhing, and that private Vices are publick Benefits, as that Caſtration preſerves and ſtrengthens the Voice?

Cleo. With the Reſtrictions my Friend requires, I believe it is, and the Caſes are exactly

actly alike. Nothing is more effectual to preſerve, mend and ſtrengthen a fine Voice in Youth than Caſtration: The Queſtion is not, whether this is true, but whether it is eligible; whether a fine Voice is an Equivalent for the Loſs, and whether a Man would prefer the Satisfaction of ſinging, and the Advantages that may accrue from it, to the Comforts of Marriage, and the Pleaſure of Poſterity, of which Enjoyments it deſtroys the Poſſibility. In like manner, my Friend demonſtrates in the firſt place, that the National Happineſs which the Generality wiſh and pray for, is Wealth and Power, Glory and Worldly Greatneſs; to live in Eaſe, in Affluence and Splendour at Home, and to be fear'd, courted and eſteem'd Abroad: In the ſecond, that ſuch a Felicity is not to be attain'd to without Avarice, Profuſeneſs, Pride, Envy, Ambition and other Vices. The latter being made evident beyond Contradiction, the Queſtion is not, whether it is true, but whether this Happineſs is worth having at the Rate it is only to be had at, and whether any thing ought to be wiſh'd for, which a Nation cannot enjoy, unleſs the Generality of them are vicious. This he offers to the Conſideration of *Chriſtians*, and Men who pretend to have renounc'd the World with all the Pomp and Vanity of it.

Hor. How does it appear that the Author addreſſes himſelf to ſuch?

Cleo. From his writing it in *Engliſh*, and publiſhing it in *London.* But have you read it through yet?

Hor. Twice: There are many things I like very well, but I am not pleas'd with the whole.

Cleo. What Objections have you againſt it?

Hor. It has diminiſh'd the Pleaſure I had in reading a much better Book. Lord *Shaftſbury* is my favourite Author: I can take Delight in Euthuſiaſm; but the Charms of it ceaſe as ſoon as I am told what it is I enjoy. Since we are ſuch odd Creatures, why ſhould we not make the moſt of it?

Cleo. I thought you was reſolv'd to be better acquainted with yourſelf, and to ſearch into your Heart with Care and Boldneſs.

Hor. That's a cruel Thing; I tried it three times ſince I ſaw you laſt, till it put me into a Sweat, and then I was forced to leave off.

Cleo. You ſhould try again, and uſe yourſelf by Degrees to think abſtractly, and then the Book will be a great Help to you.

Hor. To confound me it will: It makes a Jeſt of all Politeneſs and good Manners.

Cleo. Excuſe me, Sir, it only tells us, what they are.

Hor. It tells us, that all good Manners conſiſt in flattering the Pride of others, and concealing our own. Is not that a horrid Thing?

Cleo. But is it not true?

Hor.

Hor. As ſoon as I had read that Paſſage, it ſtruck me: Down I laid the Book, and try'd in above fifty Inſtances, ſometimes of Civility, and ſometimes of ill Manners, whether it would anſwer or not, and I profeſs that it held good in every one.

Cleo. And ſo it would if you try'd till Doomſday.

Hor. But is not that provoking? I'd give a hundred Guineas with all my Heart, that I did not know it. I can't endure to ſee ſo much of my own Nakedneſs.

Cleo. I never met with ſuch an open Enmity to Truth in a Man of Honour before.

Hor. You ſhall be as ſevere upon me as you pleaſe; what I ſay is fact. But ſince I am got in ſo far, I muſt go through with it now: There are fifty Things that I want to be inform'd about.

Cleo. Name them, pray; if I can be of any Service to you, I ſhall reckon it as a great Honour; I am perfectly well acquainted with the Author's Sentiments.

Hor. I have twenty Queſtions to ask about Pride, and I don't know where to begin. There's another thing I don't underſtand; which is, that there can be no Virtue without Self-denial.

Cleo. This was the Opinion of all the Ancients, Lord *Shaftsbury* was the firſt that maintain'd the contrary.

Hor.

Hor. But are there no Perſons in the World that are good by Choice?

Cleo. Yes, but then they are directed in that Choice by Reaſon and Experience, and not by Nature, I mean, not by untaught Nature: But there is an Ambiguity in the Word Good which I would avoid; let us ſtick to that of Virtuous, and then I affirm, that no Action is ſuch, which does not ſuppoſe and point at ſome Conqueſt or other, ſome Victory great or ſmall over untaught Nature; otherwiſe the Epithet is improper.

Hor. But if by the help of a careful Education this Victory is obtain'd, when we are young, may we not be virtuous afterwards voluntarily and with Pleaſure?

Cleo. Yes, if it really was obtain'd: But how ſhall we be ſure of this, and what Reaſon have we to believe that it ever was? When it is evident, that from our Infancy, inſtead of endeavouring to conquer our Appetites, we have always been taught, and have taken pains ourſelves to conceal them; and we are conſcious within, that, whatever Alterations have been made in our Manners and our Circumſtances, the Paſſions themſelves always remain'd? The Syſtem, that Virtue requires no Self-denial, is, as my Friend has juſtly obſerv'd, a vaſt Inlet to Hypocriſy: It will on all Accounts furniſh Men with a more obvious Handle, and a greater Opportunity of counterfeiting the Love c. Society and Regard to the Publick,

Publick, than ever they could have receiv'd from the contrary Doctrine, *viz.* That there is no Merit but in the Conqueſt of the Paſſions, nor any Virtue without apparent Self-denial. Let us ask thoſe, that have had long Experience and are well skill'd in human Affairs, whether they have found the Generality of Men ſuch impartial Judges of themſelves, as never to think better of their own Worth than it deſerv'd, or ſo candid in the Acknowledgment of their hidden Faults and Slips, they could never be convinc'd of, that there is no fear, they ſhould ever ſtifle or deny them. Where is the Man, that has at no time covered his Failings, and skreened himſelf with falſe Appearances, or never pretended to act from Principles of Social Virtue, and his Regard to others, when he knew in his Heart, that his greateſt Care had been to oblige himſelf? The beſt of us ſometimes receive Applauſe, without undeceiving thoſe who give it; tho' at the ſame time we are conſcious that the Actions, for which we ſuffer ourſelves to be thought well of, are the Reſult of a powerful Frailty in our Nature, that has often been prejudicial to us, and which we have wiſh'd a thouſand times in vain, that we could have conquer'd. The ſame Motives may produce very different Actions, as Men differ in Temper and Circumſtances. Perſons of an eaſy Fortune may appear virtuous, from the ſame turn of Mind that would ſhew their

Frailty

Frailty if they were poor. If we would know the World, we muſt look into it. You take no Delight in the Occurrences of low Life; but if we always remain among Perſons of Quality, and extend our Enquiries no farther, the Tranſactions there will not furniſh us with a ſufficient Knowledge of every thing that belongs to our Nature. There are among the midling People Men of low Circumſtances tolleraby well educated, that ſet out with the ſame Stock of Virtues and Vices, and tho' equally qualify'd, meet with very different Succeſs; viſibly owing to the Difference in their Temper. Let us take a View of two Perſons bred to the ſame Buſineſs, that have nothing but their Parts, and the World before them, launching out with the ſame Helps and Diſadvantages: Let there be no difference between them, but in their Temper; the one active, and the other indolent. The latter will never get an Eſtate by his own Induſtry, tho' his Profeſſion be gainful, and himſelf Maſter of it. Chance, or ſome uncommon Accident, may be the Occaſion of great Alterations in him, but without that he will hardly ever raiſe himſelf to Medicority. Unleſs his Pride affects him in an extraordinary Manner, he muſt always be poor, and nothing but ſome Share of Vanity can hinder him from being deſpicably ſo. If he be a Man of Senſe he'll be ſtrictly honeſt, and a midling Stock of Covetouſneſs will never di-

vert him from it. In the active ſtirring Man, that is eaſily reconciled to the Buſtle of the World, we ſhall diſcover quite different Symptoms under the ſame Circumſtances; and a very little Avarice will egg him on to purſue his Aim with Eagerneſs and Aſſiduity: Small Scruples are no Oppoſition to him; where Sincerity, will not ſerve he uſes Artifice; and in compaſſing his Ends the greateſt uſe he will make of his good Senſe will be, to preſerve as much as is poſſible the Appearance of Honeſty; when his Intereſt obliges him to deviate from it. To get Wealth, or even a Livelihood by Arts and Sciences, it is not ſufficient to underderſtand them: It is a Duty incumbent on all Men, who have their Maintenance to ſeek, to make known and forward themſelves in the World, as far as Decency allows of, without bragging of themſelves, or doing Prejudice to others: Here the indolent Man is very deficient and wanting to himſelf; but ſeldom will own his Fault, and often blames the Publick for not making uſe of him, and encouraging that Merit, which they never were acquainted with, and himſelf perhaps took Pleaſure to conceal: and tho' you convince him of his Error, and that he has neglected even the moſt warrantable Methods of ſolliciting Employment, he'll endeavour to colour over his Frailty with the Appearance of Virtue; and what is altogether owing to his too eaſy Temper, and an exceſſive

exceſſive Fondneſs for the Calmneſs of his Mind, he'll aſcribe to his Modeſty and the great Averſion he has to Impudence and Boaſting. The Man of a contrary Temper truſts not to his Merit only, or the ſetting it off to the beſt Advantage; he takes Pains to heighten it in the Opinion of others, and make his Abilities ſeem greater than he knows them to be. As it is counted Folly for a Man to proclaim his own Excellencies, and ſpeak magnificently of himſelf, ſo his chief Buſineſs is to ſeek Acquaintance, and make Friends on purpoſe to do it for him: All other Paſſions he ſacrifices to his Ambition, he laughs at Diſappointments, is inured to Refuſals, and no Repulſe diſmays him: This renders the whole Man always flexible to his Intereſt; he can defraud his Body of Neceſſaries, and allow no Tranquility to his Mind; and counterfeit, if it will ſerve his Turn, Temperance, Chaſtity, Compaſſion, and Piety itſelf without one Grain of Virtue or Religion; his Endeavours to advance his Fortune *per fas & nefas* are always reſtleſs, and have no Bounds; but where he is oblig'd to act openly, and has reaſon to fear the Cenſure of the World. It is very diverting to ſee, how, in the different Perſons I ſpeak of, natural Temper will warp and model the very Paſſions to its own Biaſs: Pride, for Example, has not the ſame, but almoſt a quite contrary Effect on the one to what it has on the other: The

ſtirring

ſtirring active Man it makes in love with Finery, Cloaths, Furniture, Equipages, Building, and every thing his Superiors enjoy: the other it renders ſullen, and perhaps moroſe; and if he has Wit prone to Satyr, tho' he be otherwiſe a good-natur'd Man. Self-love in every Individual ever beſtirs itſelf in ſoothing and flattering the darling Inclination; always turning from us the diſmal Side of the Proſpect; and the indolent Man in ſuch Circumſtances, finding nothing pleaſing without, turns his View inward upon himſelf; and there looking on every Thing with great Indulgence, admires and takes delight in his own Parts, whether natural or acquired: hence he is eaſily induced to deſpiſe all others, who have not the ſame good Qualifications, eſpecially the Powerful and Wealthy, whom yet he never hates or envies with any Violence; becauſe that would ruffle his Temper. All things that are difficult he looks upon as impoſſible, which makes him deſpair of meliorating his Condition; and as he has no Poſſeſſions, and his Gettings will but juſt maintain him in a low Station of Life, ſo his good Senſe, if he would enjoy ſo much as the Appearance of Happineſs, muſt neceſſarily put him upon two Things; to be frugal, and pretend to have no value for Riches; for by neglecting either, he muſt be blown up, and his Frailty unavoidably diſcover'd.

Hor.

Hor. I am pleas'd with your Obſervations, and the Knowledge you diſplay of Mankind; but pray is not the Frugality you now ſpeak a Virtue?

Cleo. I think not.

Hor. Where there is but a ſmall Income, Frugality is built upon Reaſon; and in this Caſe there is an apparent Self-denial, without which an indolent Man that has no value for Money cannot be frugal; and when we ſee indolent Men, that have no regard for Wealth, reduced to Beggery, as it often happens, it is moſt commonly for want of this Virtue.

Cleo. I told you before, that the indolent Man, ſetting out as he did, would be poor; and that nothing but ſome Share of Vanity could hinder him from being deſpicably ſo. A ſtrong fear of Shame may gain ſo much upon the Indolence of a Man of Senſe, that he'll beſtir himſelf ſufficiently to eſcape Contempt; but it will hardly make him do any more; therefore he embraces Frugality, as being inſtrumental and aſſiſting to him in procuring his *ſummum bonum*, the darling Quiet of his eaſy Mind; whereas the active Man with the ſame Share of Vanity would do any Thing rather than ſubmit to the ſame Frugality, unleſs his Avarice forc'd him to it. Frugality is no Virtue, when it is impoſed upon us by any of the Paſſions, and the Contempt of Riches is ſeldom ſincere. I have known Men of plentiful Eſtates, that on Account

count of Poſterity, or other warrantable Views of employing their Money, were ſaving and more penurious, than they would have been if their Wealth had been greater: but I never yet found a frugal Man, without Avarice or Neceſſity. And again, there are innumerable Spend-thrifts, laviſh and extravagant to a high degree, who ſeem not to have the leaſt Regard to Money, whilſt they have any to fling away: but theſe Wretches are the leaſt capable of bearing Poverty of any, and the Money once gone, hourly diſcover, how uneaſy, impatient and miſerable they are without it. But what ſeveral in all ages have made pretence to, the Contempt of Riches, is more ſcarce than is commonly imagin'd. To ſee a Man of a very good Eſtate, in Health and Strength of Body and Mind, one that has no reaſon to complain of the World or Fortune, actually deſpiſe both, and embrace a voluntary Poverty for a laudable Purpoſe, is a great Rarity. I know but one in all Antiquity, to whom all this may be applied with ſtrictneſs of Truth.

Hor. Who is that, pray?

Cleo. Anaxagoras of *Clazomène* in *Ionia*: he was very rich, of noble Extraction, and admired for his great Capacity: he divided and gave away his Eſtate among his Relations, and refus'd to meddle with the Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs that was offer'd him, for no other Reaſon, than that he might have more

Leiſure for Contemplation on the Works of Nature, and the Study of Philoſophy.

Hor. To me it ſeems to be more difficult to be virtuous without Money, than with: it is ſenſeleſs for a Man to be poor, when he can help it, and if I ſaw any body chuſe it when he might as lawfully be rich, I would think him to be diſtracted.

Cleo. But you would not think him ſo, if you ſaw him ſell his Eſtate and give the Money to the Poor: you know where that was required.

Hor. It is not required of us.

Cleo. Perhaps not: but what ſay you to renouncing the World, and the Solemn Promiſe we have made of it?

Hor. In a literal Senſe that is impoſſible, unleſs we go out of it; and therefore I don't think, that to renounce the World ſignifies any more, than not to comply with the vicious, wicked part of it.

Cleo. I did not expect a more rigid Conſtruction from you, tho' it is certain, that Wealth and Power are great Snares, and ſtrong Impediments to all chriſtian Virtue: but the generality of Mankind, that have any thing to loſe, are of your Opinion; and let us bar Saints and Madmen, we ſhall find every where, that thoſe who pretend to undervalue, and are always haranguing againſt, Wealth, are generally poor and indolent. But who can blame them?

them? They act in their own defence: no body that could help it would ever be laugh'd at; for it muſt be own'd, that of all the Hardſhips of Poverty it is that, which is the moſt intollerable.

Nil habet infelix Paupertas durius in ſe,
Quam quod ridiculos homines faciat.—

In the very Satisfaction that is enjoy'd by thoſe, who excel in, or are poſſeſs'd of things valuable, there is interwoven a ſpice of Contempt for others, that are deſtitute of them, which nothing keeps from publick View, but a Mixture of Pity and good Manners. Whoever denies this let them conſult within, and examine whether it is not the ſame with Happineſs, as what *Seneca* ſays of the Reverſe, *nemo eſt miſer niſi comparatus.* The Contempt and Ridicule I ſpeak of is, without doubt, what all Men of Senſe and Education endeavour to avoid, or diſappoint. Now look upon the Behaviour of the two contrary Tempers before us, and mind how differently they ſet about this Task, every one ſuitably to his own Inclination. The Man of Action, you ſee, leaves no Stone unturn'd to acquire *quod oportet habere:* but this is impoſſible for the indolent; he can't ſtir; his Idol ties him down hand and foot; and therefore the eaſieſt, and indeed the only thing he has left, is to quarrel with the World, and find out Arguments to depreciate what others value themſelves upon.

Hor. I now plainly ſee, how Pride and good Senſe muſt put an indolent Man, that is poor, upon Frugality; and likewiſe the Reaſon, why they will make him affect to be content, and ſeem pleaſed with his low Condition: for if he won't be frugal, Want and Miſery are at the Door; and if he ſhews any Fondneſs for Riches, or a more ample way of living, he loſes the only Plea he has for his darling Frailty, and immediately he'll be ask'd, why he don't exert himſelf in a better Manner, and he'll be continually told of the Opportunities he neglects.

Cleo. It is evident then, that the true Reaſons, why Men ſpeak againſt things, are not always writ upon their Foreheads.

Hor. But after all this quiet eaſy Temper, this Indolence you talk of, is it not what in plain *Engliſh* we call Lazineſs?

Cleo. Not at all; it implies no Sloth, or Averſion to Labour: an indolent Man may be very diligent, tho' he cannot be induſtrious: he will take up with things below him, if they come in his way; he'll work in a Garret, or any where elſe, remote from Publick View, with Patience and Aſſiduity, but he knows not, how to ſollicit and teaze others to employ him, or demand his due of a ſhuffling, deſigning Maſter, that is either difficult of Acceſs, or tenacious of his Money: if he be a Man of Letters he'll ſtudy hard for a Livelihood, but generally parts with his Labours at a diſ-

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advantage, and will knowingly ſell them at an Under-rate to an obſcure Man, who offers to purchaſe, rather than bear the Inſults of haughty Bookſellers, and be plagued with the ſordid Language of the Trade. An indolent Man may by chance meet with a Perſon of Quality, that takes a fancy to him; but he will never get a Patron by his own Addreſs; neither will he ever be the better for it, when he has one, further than the unask'd-for Bounty, and downright Generoſity of his Benefactor make him. As he ſpeaks for himſelf with Reluctancy, and is always afraid of asking Favours, ſo for Benefits receiv'd he ſhews no other Gratitude, than what the natural Emotions of his Heart ſuggeſt to him. The ſtriving, active Man ſtudies all the winning Ways to ingratiate himſelf, and hunts after Patrons with Deſign and Sagacity: whilſt they are beneficial to him, he affects a perpetual Senſe of Thankfulneſs; but all his Acknowledgments of paſt Obligations he turns into Sollicitations for freſh Favours: his Complaiſance may be engaging, and his Flattery ingenious, but the Heart is untouch'd: he has neither Leiſure nor the Power to love his Benefactors: the eldeſt he has he will always ſacrifize to a new one, and he has no other Eſteem for the Fortune, the Greatneſs, or the Credit of a Patron, than as he can make them ſubſervient either to raiſe or maintain his own. From all this, and a little Attention on human

Affairs, we may eaſily perceive, in the firſt place, that the Man of Action, and an enterprizing Temper, in following the Dictates of his Nature, muſt meet with more Rubs and Obſtacles infinitely, than the indolent, and a Multitude of ſtrong Temptations to deviate from the Rules of ſtrict Virtue, which hardly ever come in the other's way; that in many Circumſtances he'll be forc'd to commit ſuch Actions, for which, all his Skill and Prudence notwithſtanding, he will by ſome body or other deſervedly be thought to be an ill Man; and that to end with a tolerable Reputation, after a long Courſe of Life, he muſt have had a great deal of good Fortune as well as Cunning. Secondly, that the indolent Man may indulge his Inclinations, and be as ſenſual as his Circumſtances will let him, with little Offence or Diſturbance to his Neighbour; that the exceſſive Value he ſets upon the Tranquility of his Mind, and the grand Averſion he has to part with it, muſt prove a ſtrong Curb to every Paſſion, that comes uppermoſt; none of which by this means can ever affect him in any high degree, and conſequently that the Corruption of his Heart remaining, he may with little Art and no great Trouble acquire many amiable Qualities, that ſhall have all the Appearances of Social Virtues, whilſt nothing extraordinary befalls him. As to his Contempt of the World, the indolent Man perhaps will ſcorn to make his court

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and cringe to a haughty Favourite, that will browbeat him at firſt; but he'll run with Joy to a rich Nobleman, that he is ſure will receive him with Kindneſs and Humanity: With him he'll partake without Reluctancy of all the elegant Comforts of Life, that are offer'd, the moſt expenſive not excepted: Would you try him further, confer upon him Honour and Wealth in Abundance. If this Change in his Fortune ſtirs up no Vice, that lay dormant before, as it may by rendring him either covetous or extravagant, he will ſoon conform himſelf to the faſhionable World: Perhaps he'll be a kind Maſter, an indulgent Father, a benevolent Neighbour, munificent to Merit that pleaſes him, a Patron to Virtue, and a Well-wiſher to his Country; but for the reſt he'll take all the Pleaſure he is capable of enjoying; ſtifle no Paſſion he can calmly gratify, and in the midſt of a luxurious Plenty laugh heartily at Frugality and the Contempt of Riches and Greatneſs, he profeſs'd in his Poverty; and chearfully own the Futility of thoſe Pretences.

Hor. I am convinc'd that in the Opinion of Virtue's requiring Self-denial there is greater Certainty, and Hypocrites have leſs Latitude than in the contrary Syſtem.

Cleo. Whoever follows his own Inclinations, be they never ſo kind, beneficent, or humane, never quarrels with any Vice, but what is claſhing with his Temperament and Nature

ture; whereas those, who act from a Principle of Virtue take always Reason for their Guide, and combat without Exception every Passion, that hinders them from their Duty! The indolent Man will never deny a just Debt; but, if it be large, he will not give himself the trouble, which, poor as he is, he might and ought to take, to discharge it, or at least satisfy his Creditor; unless he is often dunn'd or threaten'd to be sued for it. He will not be a litigious Neighbour, nor make Mischief among his Acquaintance; but he will never serve his Friend, or his Country, at the Expence of his Quiet. He will not be rapacious, oppress the Poor, or commit vile Actions for Lucre; but then he will never exert himself and be at the pains, another would take on all Opportunities, to maintain a large Family, make Provision for Children, and promote his Kindred and Relations; and his darling Frailty will incapacitate him from doing a thousand things for the Benefit of the Society, which with the same Parts and Opportunities he might and would have done, had he been of another Temper.

Hor. Your Observations are very curious, and, as far as I can judge from what I have seen myself, very just and natural.

Cleo. Every body knows that there is no Virtue so often counterfeited as Charity, and yet so little Regard have the generality of Men to Truth; that, how gross and barefaced soever

the Deceit is in Pretences of this Nature, the World never fails of being angry with, and hating thoſe who detect or take notice of the Fraud. It is poſſible, that, with blind Fortune on his ſide, a mean Shopkeeper, by driving a Trade prejudicial to his Country on the one hand, and grinding on all Occaſions the Face of the Poor on the other, may accumulate great Wealth; which in proceſs of time, by continual ſcraping and ſordid ſaving, may be raiſed into an exorbitant and unheard-of Eſtate for a Tradeſman. Should ſuch a one, when old and decrepit, lay out the greateſt part of his immenſe Riches in the building, or largely endowing an Hoſpital, and I was thoroughly acquainted with his Temper and Manners, I could have no Opinion of his Virtue, tho' he parted with the Money, whilſt he was yet alive; more eſpecially, if I was aſſured, that in his Laſt Will he had been highly unjuſt, and had not only left unrewarded ſeveral, whom he had great Obligations to, but likewiſe defrauded others, to whom in his Conſcience, he knew that he was and would die actually indebted. I deſire you to tell me, what Name, knowing all I have ſaid to be true, you would give to this extraordinary Gift, this mighty Donation!

Hor. I am of Opinion, that when an Action of our Neighbour may admit of different Conſtructions, it is our Duty to ſide with and embrace the moſt favourable.

Celo.

Cleo. The moſt favourable Conſtruction, with all my Heart: But what is that to the Purpoſe, when all the ſtraining in the World cannot make it a good one? I don't mean the thing it ſelf, but the Principle it came from, the inward Motive of the Mind, that put him upon performing it, for it is that which in a free Agent I call the Action: And therefore call it what you pleaſe, and judge as charitably of it as you can, what can you ſay of it?

Hor. He might have had ſeveral Motives, which I don't pretend to determine; but it is an admirable Contrivance of being extremely beneficial to all Poſterity in this Land, a noble Proviſion, that will perpetually relieve, and be an unſpeakable Comfort to a multitude of miſerable People; and it is not only a prodigious, but likewiſe a well-concerted Bounty, that was wanting, and for which in after-Ages thouſands of poor Wretches will have reaſon to bleſs his Memory, when every Body elſe ſhall have neglected them.

Cleo. All that I have nothing againſt; and if you would add more, I ſhan't diſpute it with you, as long as you confine your Praiſes to the Endowment it ſelf, and the Benefit the Publick is like to receive from it. But to aſcribe it to, or ſuggeſt that it was derived from a Publick Spirit in the Man, a generous Senſe of Humanity and Benevolence to his Kind, a liberal Heart, or any other Virtue or good Quality, which it is manifeſt the Donor was

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an utter Stranger to, is the utmoſt Abſurdity in an intelligent Creature, and can proceed from no other Cauſe than either a wilful wronging of his own Underſtanding, or elſe Ignorance and Folly.

Hor. I am perſuaded, that many Actions are put off for virtuous, that are not ſo; and that according as Men differ in natural Temper, and turn of Mind, ſo they are differently influenc'd by the ſame Paſſions: I believe likewiſe that theſe laſt are born with us, and belong to our Nature, that ſome of them are in us, or at leaſt the Seeds of them, before we perceive them: But ſince they are in every Individual, how comes it that Pride is more predominant in ſome than it is in others? For from what you have demonſtrated already it muſt follow, that one Perſon is more affected with the Paſſion within than another; I mean, that one Man has actually a greater Share of Pride than another, as well among the artful that are dextrous in concealing it, as among the Ill-bred that openly ſhew it.

Cleo. What belongs to our Nature, all Men may juſtly be ſaid to have actually or virtually in them at their Birth; and whatever is not born with us, either the thing it ſelf, or that which afterwards produces it, cannot be ſaid to belong to our Nature: But as we differ in our Faces and Stature, ſo we do in other things, that are more remote from Sight: But all theſe depend only upon the different Frame, the

the inward Formation of either the Solids or the Fluids; and there are Vices of Complexion, that are peculiar, ſome to the Pale and Phlegmatick, others to the Sanguine and Cholerick: Some are more luſtful, others more fearful in their Nature, than the Generality are: But I believe of Man, generally ſpeaking, what my Friend has obſerv'd of other Creatures, that the beſt of the Kind, I mean the beſt form'd within, ſuch as have the fineſt natural Parts, are born with the greateſt Aptitude to be proud; but I am convinced, that the difference there is in Men, as to the Degrees of their Pride, is more owing to Circumſtances and Education, than any thing in their Formation. Where Paſſions are moſt gratify'd and leaſt controul'd, the Indulgence makes them ſtronger; whereas thoſe Perſons, that have been kept under, and whoſe Thoughts have never been at Liberty to rove beyond the firſt Neceſſaries of Life; ſuch as have not been ſuffer'd or had no Opportunity to gratify this Paſſion, have commonly the leaſt ſhare of it. But whatever Portion of Pride a Man may feel in his Heart, the quicker his Parts are, the better his Underſtanding is, and the more Experience he has, the more plainly he'll perceive the Averſion which all Men have to thoſe, that diſcover their Pride: And the ſooner Perſons are imbued with good Manners, the ſooner they grow perfect in concealing that Paſſion. Men of mean Birth and

and Education, that have been kept in great Subjection, and conſequently had no great Opportunities to exert their Pride, if ever they come to command others, have a ſort of Revenge mix'd with that Paſſion, which makes it often very miſchievous, eſpecially in Places where they have no Superiours or Equals, before whom they are obliged to conceal the odious Paſſion.

Hor. Do you think Women have more Pride from Nature than Men?

Cleo. I believe not; but they have a great deal more from Education.

Hor. I don't ſee the Reaſon: for among the better ſort, the Sons, eſpecially the eldeſt, have as many Ornaments and fine Things given them from their Infancy to ſtir up their Pride, as the Daughters.

Cleo. But among People equally well-educated, the Ladies have more Flattery beſtow'd upon them, than the Gentlemen, and it begins ſooner.

Hor. But why ſhould Pride be more encouraged in Women than in Men?

Cleo. For the ſame reaſon, that it is encouraged in Soldiers, more than it is in other People; to encreaſe their Fear of Shame, which makes them always mindful of their Honour.

Hor. But to keep both to their reſpective Duties, why muſt a Lady have more Pride than a Gentleman?

Cleo.

Cleo. Becauſe the Lady is in the greateſt Danger of ſtraying from it: She has a Paſſion within, that may begin to affect her at twelve or thirteen, and perhaps ſooner, and ſhe has all the Temptations of the Men to withſtand beſides: She has all the Artillery of our Sex to fear; a Seducer of uncommon Addreſs and reſiſtleſs Charms may court her to what Nature prompts and ſollicites her to do; he may add great Promiſes, actual Bribes; this may be done in the Dark, and when no Body is by to diſſuade her. Gentlemen very ſeldom have occaſion to ſhew their Courage before they are ſix or ſeventeen Years of Age, and rarely ſo ſoon: They are not put to the Tryal, till by converſing with Men of Honour, they are confirm'd in their Pride: In the Affair of a Quarrel they have their Friends to conſult, and theſe are ſo many Witneſſes of their Behaviour, that awe them to their Duty, and in a manner oblige them to obey the Laws of Honour: All theſe things conſpire to encreaſe their Fear of Shame; and if they can but render that Superiour to the Fear of Death, their Buſineſs is done; they have no Pleaſure to expect from breaking the Rules of Honour, nor any crafty Tempter that ſollicites them to be Cowards. That Pride, which is the Cauſe of Honour in Men, only regards their Courage; and if they can but appear to be brave, and will but follow the faſhionable Rules of manly

manly Honour, they may indulge all other Appetites, and brag of Incontinence without Reproach: The Pride likewiſe that produces Honour in Women has no other Object than their Chaſtity; and whilſt they keep that Jewel entire, they can apprehend no Shame: Tenderneſs and Delicacy are a Compliment to them; and there is no Fear of Danger ſo ridiculous, but they may own it with Oſtentation. But notwithſtanding the Weakneſs of their Frame, and the Softneſs in which Women are generally educated, if overcome by chance they have ſinn'd in private, what real Hazards will they not run, what Torments will they not ſtifle, and what Crimes will they not commit, to hide from the World that Frailty, which they were taught to be moſt aſhamed of!

Hor. It is certain, that we ſeldom hear of Publick Proſtitutes, and ſuch as have loſt their Shame, that they murder their Infants, tho' they are otherwiſe the moſt abandon'd Wretches: I took notice of this in *the Fable of the Bees*, and it is very remarkable.

Cleo. It contains a plain Demonſtration, that the ſame Paſſion may produce either a palpable Good or a palpable Evil in the ſame Perſon, according as Self-love and his preſent Circumſtances ſhall direct; and that the ſame Fear of Shame, that makes Men ſometimes appear ſo highly virtuous, may at others oblige them to commit the moſt heinous Crimes:

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That therefore Honour is not founded upon any Principle, either of real Virtue or true Religion, muſt be obvious to all that will but mind what ſort of People they are, that are the greateſt Votaries of that Idol, and the different Duties it requires in the two Sexes: In the firſt place the Worſhippers of Honour are the vain and voluptuous, the ſtrict Obſervers of Modes and Faſhions, that take Delight in Pomp and Luxury, and enjoy as much of the World as they are able: In the ſecond, the Word itſelf, I mean the Senſe of it, is ſo whimſical, and there is ſuch a prodigious difference in the Signification of it, according as the Attribute is differently applied, either to a Man or to a Woman, that neither of them ſhall forfeit their Honour; tho' each ſhould be guilty, and openly boaſt of what would be the other's greateſt Shame.

Hor. I am ſorry that I cannot charge you with Injuſtice; but it is very ſtrange; that to encourage and induſtriouſly encreaſe Pride in a refined Education, ſhould be the moſt proper means to make Men ſollicitous in concealing the outward Appearances of it.

Cleo. Yet nothing is more true: but where Pride is ſo much indulged, and yet to be ſo carefully kept from all human View, as it is in Perſons of Honour of both Sexes, it would be impoſſible for mortal Strength to endure the Reſtraint, if Men could not be taught to play the Paſſion againſt itſelf, and were not allow'd

allow'd to change the natural Home-bred Symptoms of it, for artificial Foreign ones.

Hor. By playing the Paſſion againſt itſelf, I know you mean placing a ſecret Pride in concealing the barefac'd Signs of it: But I don't rightly underſtand what you mean by changing the Symptoms of it.

Cleo. When a Man exults in his Pride, and gives a looſe to that Paſſion, the Marks of it are as viſible in his Countenance, his Mien, his Gate, and Behaviour, as they are in a prancing Horſe, or a ſtrutting Turkey-cock. Theſe are all very odious; every one feeling the ſame Principle within, which is the Cauſe of thoſe Symptoms; and, Man being endued with Speech, all the open Expreſſions, the ſame Paſſion can ſuggeſt to him, muſt for the ſame Reaſon be equally diſpleaſing: Theſe therefore have in all Societies been ſtrictly prohibited by common Conſent, in the very Infancy of good Manners; and Men have been taught, in the room of them, to ſubſtitute other Symptoms, equally evident with the firſt, but leſs offenſive, and more beneficial to others.

Hor. Which are they?

Cleo. Fine Cloaths, and other Ornaments about them, the Cleanlineſs obſerved about their Perſons, the Submiſſion that is required of Servants, coſtly Equipages, Furniture, Buildings, Titles of Honour, and every thing that Men can acquire to make themſelves eſteem'd

by others, without diſcovering any of the Symptoms that are forbid: upon a Satiety of enjoying theſe, they are allow'd likewiſe to have the Vapours and be whimſical, tho' otherwiſe they are known to be in Health and of good Senſe.

Hor. But ſince the Pride of others is diſpleaſing to us in every Shape, and theſe latter Symptoms, you ſay, are equally evident with the firſt, what is got by the Change?

Cleo. A great deal: When Pride is deſignedly expreſs'd in Looks and Geſtures, either in a wild or tame Man, it is known by all human Creatures that ſee it; it is the ſame, when vented in Words, by every Body that underſtands the Language they are ſpoken in. Theſe are Marks and Tokens, that are all the World over the ſame: no Body ſhews them, but to have them ſeen and underſtood, and few Perſons ever diſplay them without deſigning that Offence to others, which they never fail to give; whereas the other Symptoms may be denied to be what they are; and many Pretences, that they are deriv'd from other Motives, may be made for them, which the ſame good Manners teach us never to refute, nor eaſily to disbelieve: In the very Excuſes, that are made for them there is a Condeſcenſion, that ſatisfies and pleaſes us. In thoſe that are altogether deſtitute of the Opportunities to diſplay the Symptoms of Pride that are allow'd of, the leaſt Portion of that Paſſion is a trou-

bleſome, tho' often an unknown Gueſt; for in them it is eaſily turn'd into Envy and Malice, and on the leaſt Provocation it ſallies out in thoſe Diſguiſes, and is often the Cauſe of Cruelty, and there never was a Miſchief committed by Mobs or Multitudes, which this Paſſion had not a hand in: Whereas the more room Men have to vent and gratify the Paſſion in the warrantable ways, the more eaſy it is for them to ſtifle the odious Part of Pride, and ſeem to be wholly free from it.

Hor. I ſee very well, that real Virtue requires a Conqueſt over untaught Nature, and that the Chriſtian Religion demands a ſtill ſtricter Self-denial: It likewiſe is evident, that to make ourſelves acceptable to an omniſcient Power, nothing is more neceſſary than Sincerity, and that the Heart ſhould be pure; but ſetting aſide ſacred Matters and a future State, don't you think, that this Complaiſance and eaſy Conſtruction of one another's Actions do a great deal of Good upon Earth; and don't you believe, that good Manners and Politeneſs make Men more happy, and their Lives more comfortable in this World, than any thing elſe could make them without thoſe Arts?

Cleo. If you will ſet aſide what ought to employ our firſt Care, and be our greateſt Concern; and Men will have no Value for that Felicity and Peace of Mind, which can only ariſe from a Conſciouſneſs of being good,

it is certan, that in a great Nation, and among a flouriſhing People, whoſe higheſt Wiſhes ſeem to be Eaſe and Luxury, the upper Part could not, without thoſe Arts, enjoy ſo much of the World as that can afford; and that none ſtand more in need of them than the voluptuous Men of Parts, that will joyn worldly Prudence to Senſuality, and make it their chief Study to refine upon Pleaſure.

Hor. When I had the Honour of your Company at my Houſe, you ſaid, that no body knew, when or where, nor in what King's or Emperor's Reign the Laws of Honour were enacted; pray, can you inform me, when or which Way, what we call good Manners or Politeneſs, came into the World? What Moraliſt or Politician was it, that could teach Men to be proud of hiding their Pride?

Cleo. The reſtleſs Induſtry of Man to ſupply his Wants, and his conſtant Endeavours to meliorate his Condition upon Earth, have produced and brought to Perfection many uſeful Arts and Sciences, of which the Beginnings are of uncertain Æra's, and to which we can aſſign no other Cauſes, than human Sagacity in general, and the joynt Labour of many Ages, in which Men have always employ'd themſelves in ſtudying and contriving Ways and Means to ſooth their various Appetites, and make the beſt of their Infirmities.

Infirmities. Whence had we the firſt Rudiments of Architecture; how came Sculpture and Painting to be what they have been theſe many hundred Years; and who taught every Nation the reſpective Languages they ſpeak now? When I have a Mind to dive into the Origin of any Maxim or political Invention, for the Uſe of Society in general, I don't trouble my Head with enquiring after the Time or Country, in which it was firſt heard of, nor what others have wrote or ſaid about it; but I go directly to the Fountain Head, human Nature itſelf, and look for the Frailty or Defect in Man, that is remedy'd or ſupply'd by that Invention: When Things are very obſcure, I ſometimes make Uſe of Conjectures to find my Way.

Hor. Do you argue, or pretend to prove any thing from thoſe Conjectures?

Cleo. No; I never reaſon but from the plain Obſervations which every body may make on Man, the *Phænomena* that appear in the leſſer World.

Hor. You have, without doubt, thought on this Subject before now; would you communicate to me ſome of your Gueſſes?

Cleo. With abundance of Pleaſure.

Hor. You'll give me Leave, now and then, when Things are not clear to me, to put in a Word for Information's Sake.

Cleo. I deſire you would: You will oblige me with it. That Self-love was given to all

Animals, at leaſt, the moſt perfect, for Self-Preſervation, is not diſputed; but as no Creature can love what it diſlikes, it is neceſſary, moreover, that every one ſhould have a real liking to its own Being, ſuperior to what they have to any other. I am of Opinion, begging Pardon for the Novelty, that if this Liking was not always permanent, the Love, which all Creatures have for themſelves, could not be ſo unalterable as we ſee it is.

Hor. What Reaſon have you to ſuppoſe this Liking, which Creatures have for themſelves, to be diſtinct from Self-love; ſince the one plainly comprehends the other?

Cleo. I will endeavour to explain myſelf better. I fancy, that, to encreaſe the Care in Creatures to preſerve themſelves, Nature has given them an Inſtinct, by which every Individual values itſelf above its real Worth; this in us, I mean, in Man, ſeems to be accompany'd with a Diffidence, ariſing from a Conſciouſneſs, or at leaſt an Apprehenſion, that we do over-value ourſelves: It is this that makes us ſo fond of the Approbation, Liking and Aſſent of others; becauſe they ſtrengthen and confirm us in the good Opinion we have of ourſelves. The Reaſons why this Self-liking, give me Leave to call it ſo, is not plainly to be ſeen in all Animals that are of the ſame Degree of Perfection, are many. Some want Ornaments, and conſequently the Means to expreſs it; others are too ſtupid

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and liſtleſs: It is to be conſider'd likewiſe, that Creatures, which are always in the ſame Circumſtances, and meet with little Variation in their Way of Living, have neither Opportunity nor Temptation to ſhew it; that the more Mettle and Livelineſs Creatures have, the more viſible this Liking is; and that in thoſe of the ſame kind, the greater Spirit they are of, and the more they excel in the Perfections of their Species, the fonder they are of ſhewing it: In moſt Birds it is evident, eſpecially in thoſe that have extraordinary Finery to diſplay: In a Horſe it is more conſpicuous than in any other irrational Creature: It is moſt apparent in the ſwifteſt, the ſtrongeſt, the moſt healthy and vigorous; and may be encreas'd in that Animal by additional Ornaments, and the Preſence of Man, whom he knows, to clean, take Care of, and delight in him. It is not improbable, that this great Liking, which Creatures have for their own Individuals, is the Principle on which the Love to their Species is built: Cows and Sheep, too dull and liveleſs to make any Demonſtration of this Liking, yet herd and feed together, each with his own Species; becauſe no others are ſo like themſelves: By this they ſeem to know likewiſe, that they have the ſame Intereſt, and the ſame Enemies; Cows have often been ſeen to joyn in a common Defence againſt Wolves: Birds of a Feather flock together; and I dare ſay, that

the Screech Owl likes her own Note, better than that of the Nightingale.

Hor. Montain ſeems to have been ſomewhat of your Opinion, when he fancy'd; that if Brutes were to paint the Deity, they would all draw him of their own Species. But what you call Self-liking is evidently Pride.

Cleo. I believe it is, or at leaſt the Cauſe of it. I believe, moreover, that many Creatures ſhew this Liking, when, for want of underſtanding them, we don't perceive it: When a Cat waſhes her Face, and a Dog licks himſelf clean, they adorn themſelves as much as it is in their Power. Man himſelf in a ſavage State, feeding on Nuts and Acorns, and deſtitute of all outward Ornaments, would have infinitely leſs Temptation, as well as Opportunity, of ſhewing this Liking of himſelf, than he has when civiliz'd; yet if a hundred Males of the firſt, all equally free, were together, within leſs than half an Hour, this Liking in queſtion, though their Bellies were full, would appear in the Deſire of Superiority, that would be ſhewn among them; and the moſt vigorous, either in Strength or Underſtanding, or both, would be the firſt, that would diſplay it: If, as ſuppos'd, they were all untaught, this would breed Contention, and there would certainly be War before there could be any Agreement among them; unleſs one of them had ſome one

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or more viſible Excellencies above the reſt. I ſaid *Males*, and *their Bellies full*; becauſe if they had Women among them, or wanted Food, their Quarrel might begin on another Account.

Hor. This is thinking abſtractly indeed: But do you think, that two or three hundred ſingle Savages, Men and Women, that never had been under any Subjection, and were above twenty Years of Age, could ever eſtabliſh a Society, and be united into one Body; if, without being acquainted with one another, they ſhould meet by chance?

Cleo. No more, I believe, than ſo many Horſes: But Societies never were made that Way. It is poſſible, that ſeveral Families of Savages might unite, and the Heads of them agree upon ſome ſort of Government or other, for their common Good: But among them it is certain likewiſe; that, though Superiority was tollerably well ſettled, and every Male had Females enough, Strength and Proweſs in this unciviliz'd State would be infinitely more valued than Underſtanding; I mean in the Men; for the Women will always prize themſelves for what they ſee the Men admire in them: Hence it would follow, that the Women would value themſelves, and envy one another for being handſome; and that the ugly and deform'd, and all thoſe that were leaſt favour'd by Nature, would be the firſt, that would fly to Art and additio-

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nal Ornaments: Seeing that this made them more agreeable to the Men, it would ſoon be follow'd by the reſt, and in a little Time they would ſtrive to outdo one another, as much as their Circumſtances would allow of; and it is poſſible, that a Woman with a very handſome Noſe might envy her Neighbour with a much worſe, for having a Ring thro' it.

Hor. You take great Delight in dwelling on the Behaviour of Savages; What relation has this to Politeneſs?

Cleo. The Seeds of it are lodg'd in this Self-love and Self-liking, which I have ſpoke of; as will ſoon appear, if we conſider what would be the Conſequence of them in the Affair of Self-preſervation, and a Creature endued with Underſtanding, Speech, and Riſibility. Self-love would firſt make it ſcrape together every thing it wanted for Suſtenance, provide againſt the Injuries of the Air, and do every thing to make itſelf and young Ones ſecure. Self-liking would make it ſeek for Opportunities, by Geſtures, Looks, and Sounds, to diſplay the Value it has for itſelf, ſuperiour to what it has for others; an untaught Man would deſire every body that came near him, to agree with him in the Opinion of his ſuperiour Worth, and be angry, as far as his Fear would let him, with all that ſhould refuſe it: He would be highly delighted with, and love every body, whom he thought to have

have a good Opinion of him, eſpecially thoſe, that by Words or Geſtures ſhould own it to his Face: Whenever he met with any viſible Marks in others of Inferiority to himſelf, he would laugh, and do the ſame at their Misfortunes, as far as his own Pity would give him Leave, and he would inſult every body that would let him.

Hor. This Self-liking, you ſay, was given to Creatures for Self-preſervation; I ſhould think rather that it is hurtful to Men, becauſe it muſt make them odious to one another; and I cannot ſee what Benefit they can receive from it, either in a ſavage or a civiliz'd State: Is there any Inſtance of its doing any good?

Cleo. I wonder to hear you ask that Queſtion. Have you forgot the many Virtues which I have demonſtated, may be counterfeited to gain Applauſe, and the good Qualities a Man of Senſe in great Fortune may acquire, by the ſole Help and Inſtigation of his Pride?

Hor. I beg your Pardon; yet what you ſay only regards Man in the Society, and after he has been perfectly well educated: What Advantage is it to him as a ſingle Creature? Self-love I can plainly ſee induces him to labour for his Maintenance and Safety, and makes him fond of every thing which he imagines to tend to his Preſervation: But what good does the Self-liking to him?

Cleo.

Cleo. If I ſhould tell you, that the inward Pleaſure and Satisfaction a Man receives from the Gratification of that Paſſion, is a Cordial that contributes to his Health, you would laugh at me, and think it far fetch'd.

Hor. Perhaps not; but I would ſet againſt it the many ſharp Vexations and heart-breaking Sorrows, that Men ſuffer on the ſcore of this Paſſion, from Diſgraces, Diſappointments, and other Misfortunes, which, I believe, have ſent Millions to their Graves, much ſooner, than they would have gone, if their Pride had leſs affected them.

Cleo. I have nothing againſt what you ſay: But this is no Proof, that the Paſſion itſelf was not given to Man for Self-preſervation; and it only lays open to us the Precariouſneſs of ſublunary Happineſs, and the wretched Condition of Mortals. There is nothing created that is always a Bleſſing; the Rain and Sun-ſhine themſelves, to which all earthly Comforts are owing, have been the Cauſes of innumerable Calamities. All Animals of Prey, and thouſand others, hunt after Food with the Hazard of their Lives, and the greater Part of them periſh in their Purſuits after Suſtenance. Plenty itſelf is not leſs fatal to ſome, than Want is to others; and of our own Species, every opulent Nation has had great Numbers, that in full Safety from all other Dangers, have deſtroy'd themſelves by Exceſſes of Eating and Drinking: Yet nothing is more certain,

certain, than that Hunger and Thirſt were given to Creatures to make them ſollicitous after, and crave thoſe Neceſſaries, without which it would be impoſſible for them to ſubſiſt.

Hor. Still I can ſee no Advantage accruing from this Self-liking to Man, conſider'd as a ſingle Creature, which can induce me to believe, that Nature ſhould have given it us for Self-preſervation. What you have alledg'd is obſcure; can you name a Benefit every individual Perſon receives from that Principle within him, that is manifeſt, and clearly to be underſtood?

Cleo. Since it has been in Diſgrace, and every body diſowns the Paſſion, it ſeldom is ſeen in its proper Colours, and diſguiſes itſelf in a thouſand different Shapes: we are often affected with it, when we have not the leaſt Suſpicion of it; but it ſeems to be that, which continually furniſhes us with that Reliſh we have for Life, even when it is not worth having. Whilſt Men are pleas'd, Self-liking has every Moment a conſiderable Share, tho' unknown, in procuring the Satisfaction they enjoy. It is ſo neceſſary to the Well-being of thoſe that have been uſed to indulge it; that they can taſte no Pleaſure without it, and ſuch is the deference, and the ſubmiſſive Veneration they pay to it, that they are deaf to the loudeſt Calls of Nature, and will rebuke the ſtrongeſt Appetites that ſhould pretend to be

be gratify'd at the Expence of that Paſſion. It doubles our Happineſs in Proſperity, and buoys us up againſt the Frowns of adverſe Fortune. It is the Mother of Hopes, and the End as well as the Foundation of our beſt Wiſhes: It is the ſtrongeſt Armour againſt Deſpair, and as long as we can like any ways our Situation, either in regard to preſent Circumſtances, or the Proſpect before us, we take care of ourſelves; and no Man can reſolve upon Suicide, whilſt Self-liking laſts: but as ſoon as that is over, all our Hopes are extinct, and we can form no Wiſhes but for the Diſſolution of our Frame: till at laſt our Being becomes ſo intollerable to us, that Self-love prompts us to make an end of it, and ſeek Refuge in Death.

Hor. You mean Self-hatred; for you have ſaid your ſelf, that a Creature cannot love what it diſlikes.

Cleo. If you turn the Proſpect, you are in the right; but this only proves to us what I have often hinted at, that Man is made up of Contrarieties; otherwiſe nothing ſeems to be more certain, than that whoever kills himſelf by Choice, muſt do it to avoid ſomething, which he dreads more than that Death which he chuſes. Therefore, how abſurd ſoever a Perſon's Reaſoning may be, there is in all Suicide a palpable Intention of Kindneſs to ones ſelf.

Hor.

Hor. I muſt own that your Obſervations are entertaining. I am very well pleas'd with your Diſcourſe, and I ſee an agreeable Glimmering of Probability that runs through it; but you have ſaid nothing that comes up to a half Proof on the Side of your Conjecture, if it be ſeriouſly conſider'd.

Cleo. I told you before that I would lay no Streſs upon, nor draw any Concluſions from it: But whatever Nature's Deſign was in beſtowing this Self-liking on Creatures; and, whether it has been given to other Animals beſides ourſelves or not, it is certain, that in our own Species every individual Perſon likes himſelf better than he does any other.

Hor. It may be ſo, generally ſpeaking; but that it is not univerſally true, I can aſſure you, from my own Experience; for I have often wiſh'd myſelf to be Count *Theodati*, whom you knew at *Rome*.

Cleo. He was a very fine Perſon indeed, and extremely well accompliſh'd; and therefore you wiſh'd to be ſuch another, which is all you could mean. *Celia* has a very handſome Face, fine Eyes, fine Teeth; but ſhe has red Hair, and is ill made; therefore ſhe wiſhes for *Chloe*'s Hair and *Bellinda*'s Shape; but ſhe would ſtill remain *Celia*.

Hor. But I wiſh'd, that I might have been that Perſon, that very *Theodati*.

Cleo. That is impoſſible.

Hor.

Hor. What, is it impoſſible to wiſh it!

Cleo. Yes, to wiſh it; unleſs you wiſh'd for Annihilation at the ſame time. It is that *Self* we wiſh well to; and therefore we cannot wiſh for any Change in ourſelves, but with a Proviſo, that that τὸ ſelf, that Part of us, that wiſhes, ſhould ſtill remain: for take away that Conſciouſneſs you had of yourſelf, whilſt you was wiſhing, and tell me pray, what part of you it is, that could be the better for the Alteration you wiſh'd for?

Hor. I believe you are in the right. No Man can wiſh but to enjoy ſomething, which no Part of that ſame Man could do, if he was entirely another.

Cleo. That *He* itſelf, the Perſon wiſhing, muſt be deſtroy'd before the Change could be entire.

Hor. But when ſhall we come to the Origin of Politeneſs?

Cleo. We are at it now, and we need not look for it any further than in the Self-liking, which I have demonſtrated every individual Man to be poſſeſs'd of. Do but conſider theſe two things; firſt, that from the Nature of that Paſſion it muſt follow, that all untaught Men will ever be hateful to one another in Converſation, where neither Intereſt nor Superiority are conſider'd: for if of two Equals one only values himſelf more by half, than he does the other; tho' that other ſhould value the firſt equally with himſelf, they would both

both be diſſatisfied, if their Thoughts were known to each other: but if both valued themſelves more by half, than they did each other, the difference between them would ſtill be greater, and a Declaration of their Sentiments would render them both inſufferable to each other; which among unciviliz'd Men would happen every Moment, becauſe without a Mixture of Art and Trouble, the outward Symptoms of that Paſſion are not to be ſtifled. The ſecond Thing I would have you conſider, is, the Effect which in all human Probability this Inconveniency, ariſing from ſelf-liking, would have upon Creatures, endued with a great Share of Underſtanding, that are fond of their Eaſe to the laſt degree, and as induſtrious to procure it. Theſe two Things, I ſay, do but duely weigh, and you ſhall find, that the Diſturbance and Uneaſineſs, that muſt be cauſed by Self-liking, whatever Strugglings and unſucceſful Tryals to remedy them might precede, muſt neceſſarily produce at long run, what we call good Manners and Politeneſs.

Hor. I underſtand you, I believe. Every body, in this undiſciplin'd State, being affected with the high Value he has for himſelf, and diſplaying the moſt natural Symptoms, which you have deſcrib'd, they would all be offended at the barefac'd Pride of their Neighbours: and it is impoſſible, that this ſhould continue long among rational Creatures, but the repeated Expe-

Experience of the Uneaſineſs they received from ſuch Behaviour, would make ſome of them reflect on the Cauſe of it; which, in tract of time, would make them find out, that their own barefaced Pride muſt be as offenſive to others, as that of others is to themſelves.

Cleo. What you ſay is certainly the Philoſophical Reaſon of the Alterations, that are made in the Behaviour of Men, by their being civiliz'd: but all this is done without reflection, and Men by degrees, and great Length of Time, fall as it were into theſe Things ſpontaneouſly.

Hor. How is that poſſible, when it muſt coſt them Trouble, and there is a palpable Self-denial to be ſeen in the Reſtraint they put upon themſelves?

Cleo. In the Purſuit of Self-preſervation, Men diſcover a reſtleſs Endeavour to make themſelves eaſy, which inſenſibly teaches them to avoid Miſchief on all Emergencies: and when human Creatures once ſubmit to Government, and are uſed to live under the Reſtraint of Laws, it is incredible, how many uſeful Cautions, Shifts, and Stratagems, they will learn to practiſe by Experience and Imitation, from converſing together; without being aware of the natural Cauſes, that oblige them to act as they do, *viz.* The Paſſions within, that, unknown to themſelves, govern their Will and direct their Behaviour.

Hor.

Hor, You'll make Men as mere Machines as *Cartes* does Brutes.

Cleo. I have no ſuch Deſign: but I am of Opinion, that Men find out the uſe of their Limbs by Inſtinct, as much as Brutes do the uſe of theirs; and that, without knowing any thing of Geometry or Arithmetick, even Children may learn to perform Actions, that ſeem to beſpeak great Skill in Mechanicks, and a conſiderable Depth of Thought and Ingenuity in the Contrivance beſides.

Hor. What Actions are they, which you judge this from?

Cleo. The advantageous Poſtures, which they'll chuſe in reſiſting Force, in pulling, puſhing, or otherwiſe removing Weight; from their Slight and Dexterity in throwing Stones, and other *Projectils*, and the ſtupendious Cunning made uſe of in Leaping.

Hor. What ſtupendious Cunning, I pray?

Cleo. When Men would leap or jump a great way, you know, they take a Run before they throw themſelves off the Ground. It is certain, that by this Means they jump further, and with greater Force than they could do otherwiſe: the Reaſon likewiſe is very plain. The Body partakes of, and is moved by, two Motions; and the Velocity, impreſt upon it by leaping, muſt be added to ſo much, as it retained of the Velocity it was put into by running: Whereas the Body of a Perſon who takes his Leap, as he is ſtanding

ſtill, has no other Motion, than what is receiv'd from the muſcular Strength exerted in the Act of Leaping. See a thouſand Boys, as well as Men, jump, and they'll all make uſe of this Stratagem: but you won't find one of them, that does it knowingly for that Reaſon. What I have ſaid of this Stratagem made uſe of in Leaping, I deſire you would apply to the Doctrine of good Manners, which is taught and practiſed by Millions, who never thought on the Origin of Politeneſs, or ſo much as knew the real Benefit it is of to Society. The moſt crafty and deſigning will every where be the firſt, that for Intereſt-ſake will learn to conceal this Paſſion, and in a little time no body will ſhew the leaſt Symptom of it, whilſt he is asking Favours, or ſtands in need of Help.

Hor. That rational Creatures ſhould do all this, without thinking or knowing what they were about, is inconceivable. Bodily Motion is one thing, and the Exerciſe of the Underſtanding is another; and therefore agreeable Poſtures, a graceful Mein, an eaſy Carriage, and a genteel outward Behaviour, in general, may be learn'd and contracted perhaps without much Thought; but good Manners are to be obſerv'd every where, in ſpeaking, writing, and ordering Actions to be perform'd by others.

Cleo. To Men who never turn'd their Thoughts that way, it certainly is almoſt inconceiv-

conceivable to what prodigious Height, from next to nothing, ſome Arts may be and have been raiſed by human Induſtry and Application, by the uninterrupted Labour, and joint Experience of many Ages, tho' none but Men of ordinary Capacity ſhould ever be employ'd in them. What a Noble as well as Beautiful, what a glorious Machine is a Firſt-Rate Man of War, when ſhe is under Sail, well rigg'd, and well mann'd! As in Bulk and Weight it is vaſtly ſuperior to any other moveable Body of human Invention, ſo there is no other that has an equal Variety of differently ſurprizing Contrivances to boaſt of. There are many Sets of Hands in the Nation, that, not wanting proper Materials, would be able in leſs than half a Year to produce, fit out, and navigate a Firſt-Rate: yet it is certain, that this Task would be impracticable, if it was not divided and ſubdivided into a great Variety of different Labours; and it is as certain, that none of theſe Labours require any other, than working Men of ordinary Capacities.

Hor. What would you infer from this?

Cleo. That we often aſcribe to the Excellency of Man's Genius, and the Depth of his Penetration, what is in Reality owing to length of Time, and the Experience of many Generations, all of them very little differing from one another in natural Parts and Sagacity. And to know what it muſt have coſt to bring that Art of making Ships for

different Purpoſes, to the Perfection in which it is now, we are only to conſider in the firſt place; that many conſiderable Improvements have been made in it within theſe fifty years and leſs; and in the Second, that the Inhabitants of this Iſland did build and make uſe of Ships eighteen hundred Years ago, and that from that time to this, they have never been without.

Hor. Which all together make a ſtrong Proof of the ſlow Progreſs that Art has made, to be what it is.

Cleo. The Chevalier *Reneau* has wrote a Book, in which he ſhews the Mechaniſm of Sailing, and accounts mathematically for every thing that belongs to the working and ſteering of a Ship. I am perſuaded, that neither the firſt Inventors of Ships and Sailing, or thoſe, who have made Improvements ſince in any Part of them, ever dream'd of thoſe Reaſons, any more than now the rudeſt and moſt illiterate of the vulgar do, when they are made Sailors, which Time and Practice will do in Spight of their Teeth. We have thouſands of them, that were firſt haul'd on board and detain'd againſt their Wills, and yet in leſs than three Years time knew every Rope and every Pully in the Ship, and without the leaſt Scrap of Mathematicks had learn'd the Management, as well as Uſe of them, much better than the greateſt Mathematician could have done in all his Life-time, if he had never

ver been at Sea. The Book I mention'd, among other curious Things, demonſtrates what Angle the Rudder muſt make with the Keel, to render its Influence upon the Ship the moſt powerful. This has its Merit; but a Lad of Fifteen, who has ſerv'd a Year of his Time on board of a Hoy, knows every thing that is uſeful in this Demonſtration practically. Seeing the Poop always anſwering the Motion of the Helm, he only minds the latter, without making the leaſt Reflection on the Rudder, 'till in a Year or two more his Knowledge in ſailing, and Capacity of ſteering his Veſſel become ſo habitual to him, that he guides her as he does his own Body, by Inſtinct, tho' he is half a-ſleep, or thinking on quite another thing.

Hor. If, as you ſaid, and which I now believe to be true, the People, who firſt invented, and afterwards improved upon Ships and Sailing, never dream'd of thoſe Reaſons of Monſieur *Reneau*, it is impoſſible, that they ſhould have acted from them, as Motives that induced them *a priori*, to put their Inventions and Improvements in practice, with Knowledge and Deſign; which, I ſuppoſe, is what you intended to prove.

Cleo. It is; and I verily believe, not only that the raw Beginners, who made the firſt Eſſays in either Art, good Manners as well as Sailing, were ignorant of the true Cauſe, the real Foundation thoſe Arts are built upon in

Nature; but likewiſe that, even now both Arts are brought to great Perfection, the greateſt Part of thoſe that are moſt expert, and daily making Improvements in them, know as little of the *Rationale* of them, as their Predeceſſors did at firſt: tho' I believe at the ſame time Monſieur *Reneau*'s Reaſons to be very juſt, and yours as good as his; that is, I believe, that there is as much Truth and Solidity in your accounting for the Origin of good Manners, as there is in his for the Management of Ships. They are very ſeldom the ſame Sort of People, thoſe that invent Arts, and Improvements in them, and thoſe that enquire into the Reaſon of Things: this latter is moſt commonly practis'd by ſuch, as are idle and indolent, that are fond of Retirement, hate Buſineſs, and take delight in Speculation: whereas none ſucceed oftener in the firſt, than active, ſtirring, and laborious Men, ſuch as will put their Hand to the Plough, try Experiments, and give all their Attention to what they are about.

Hor. It is commonly imagin'd, that ſpeculative Men are beſt at Invention of all ſorts.

Cleo. Yet it is a Miſtake. Soap-boyling, Grain-dying, and other Trades and Myſteries, are from mean Beginnings brought to great Perfection; but the many Improvements, that can be remembred to have been made in them, have for the Generality been owing to Perſons, who either were brought up to, or had

had long practis'd and been converſant in thoſe Trades, and not to great Proficients in Chymiſtry or other Parts of Philoſophy, whom one would naturally expect thoſe Things from. In ſome of theſe Arts, eſpecially Grain or Scarlet-dying, there are Proceſſes really aſtoniſhing; and by the Mixture of various Ingredients, by Fire and Fermentation, ſeveral Operations are perform'd, which the moſt ſagacious Naturaliſt cannot account for by any Syſtem yet known; a certain Sign, that they were not invented by reaſoning *a Priori*. When once the Generality begin to conceal the high Value they have for themſelves, Men muſt become more tolerable to one another. Now new Improvements muſt be made every Day, 'till ſome of them grow impudent enough, not only to deny the high Value they have for themſelves, but likewiſe to pretend that they have greater Value for others, than they have for themſelves. This will bring in Complaiſance, and now Flattery will ruſh in upon them like a Torrent. As ſoon as they are arrived at this Pitch of Inſincerity, they will find the Benefit of it, and teach it their Children. The Paſſion of Shame is ſo general, and ſo early diſcover'd in all human Creatures, that no Nation can be ſo ſtupid, as to be long without obſerving and making uſe of it accordingly. The ſame may be ſaid of the Credulity of Infants, which is very inviting to many good Purpoſes. The Knowledge of

Parents

Parents is communicated to their Off-ſpring, and every one's Experience in Life, being added to what he learn'd in his Youth, every Generation after this muſt be better taught than the preceding; by which Means, in two or three Centuries, good Manners muſt be brought to great Perfection.

Hor. When they are thus far advanced, it is eaſy to conceive the reſt: For Improvements, I ſuppoſe, are made in good Manners, as they are in all other Arts and Sciences. But to commence from Savages, Men I believe would make but a ſmall Progreſs in good Manners the firſt three hundred Years. The *Romans*, who had a much better Beginning, had been a Nation above ſix Centuries, and were almoſt Maſters of the World, before they could be ſaid to be a polite People. What I am moſt aſtoniſh'd at, and which I am now convinc'd of, is, that the Baſis of all this Machinery is Pride. Another thing I wonder at is, that you choſe to ſpeak of a Nation, that enter'd upon good Manners before they had any Notions of Virtue or Religion, which I believe there never was in the World.

Cleo. Pardon me, *Horatio*; I have no where inſinuated that they had none, but I had no reaſon to mention them. In the firſt place, you ask'd my Opinion concerning the uſe of Politeneſs in this World, abſtract from the Conſiderations of a future State: Secondly,

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the Art of good Manners has nothing to do with Virtue or Religion, tho' it ſeldom claſhes with either. It is a Science that is ever built on the ſame ſteady Principle in our Nature, whatever the Age or the Climate may be, in which it is practis'd.

Hor. How can any thing be ſaid not to claſh with Virtue or Religion, that has nothing to do with either, and conſequently diſclaims both?

Cleo. This I confeſs ſeems to be a Paradox; yet it is true. The Doctrine of good Manners teaches Men to ſpeak well of all Virtues, but requires no more of them in any Age, or Country, than the outward Appearance of thoſe in Faſhion. And as to Sacred Matters, it is every where ſatisfied with a ſeeming Conformity in outward Worſhip; for all the Religions in the Univerſe are equally agreeable to good Manners, where they are national; and pray what Opinion muſt we ſay a Teacher to be of, to whom all Opinions are probable alike? All the Precepts of good Manners throughout the World have the ſame Tendency, and are no more than the various Methods of making ourſelves acceptable to others, with as little Prejudice to ourſelves as is poſſible: by which Artifice we aſſiſt one another in the Enjoyments of Life, and refining upon Pleaſure; and every individual Perſon is rendred more happy by it, in the Fruition of all the good Things he can purchaſe, than he could

could have been without ſuch Behaviour. I mean happy, in the Senſe of the Voluptuous. Let us look back on old *Greece*, the *Roman* Empire, or the great Eaſtern Nations, that flouriſh'd before them, and we ſhall find, that Luxury and Politeneſs ever grew up together, and were never enjoy'd aſunder: that Comfort and Delight upon Earth have always employ'd the Wiſhes of the *Beau Monde*; and that, as their chief Study and greateſt Sollicitude, to outward Appearance, have ever been directed to obtain Happineſs in this World, ſo what would become of them in the next ſeems, to the naked Eye, always to have been the leaſt of their Concern.

Hor. I thank you for your Lecture: you have ſatisfied me in ſeveral Things, which I had intended to ask: but you have ſaid ſome others, that I muſt have time to conſider; after which I am reſolved to wait upon you again, for I begin to believe, that concerning the Knowledge of ourſelves moſt Books are either very defective or very deceitful.

Cleo. There is not a more copious nor a more faithful Volume than human Nature, to thoſe who will diligently peruſe it; and I ſincerely believe, that I have diſcover'd nothing to you, which, if you had thought of it with Attention, you would not have found out yourſelf. But I ſhall never be better pleas'd with myſelf, than when I can contribute to any Entertainment you ſhall think diverting.

THE

THE FOURTH

DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

Horatio and *Cleomenes.*

CLEOMENES.

YOUR Servant.

Hor. What ſay you now, *Cleomenes*; is it not this without Ceremony?

Cleo. You are very obliging.

Hor. When they told me where you was, I would ſuffer no body to tell you, who it was that wanted you, or to come up with me.

Cleo. This is friendly indeed!

Hor. You ſee what a Proficient I am: in a little Time you'll teach me to lay aſide all good Manners.

Cleo. You make a fine Tutor of me.

Hor. You'll pardon me, I know: This Study of yours is a very pretty Place.

Cleo. I like it, becauſe the Sun never enters it.

Hor. A very pretty Room!

Cleo. Shall we ſit down in it? it is the coolest Room in the Houſe.

Hor. With all my Heart.

Cleo. I was in Hopes to have ſeen you before now: you have taken a long time to conſider.

Hor. Juſt eight Days.

Cleo. Have you thought on the Novelty I ſtarted?

Hor. I have, and think it not void of Probability; for that there are no innate Idea's, and Men come into the World without any Knowledge at all, I am convinc'd of, and therefore it is evident to me, that all Arts and Sciences muſt once have had a Beginning in ſome body's Brain, whatever Oblivion that may now be loſt in. I have thought twenty times, ſince I ſaw you laſt, on the Origin of good Manners, and what a pleaſant Scene it would be to a Man, who is tolerably well verſed in the World, to ſee among a rude Nation thoſe firſt Eſſays they made of concealing their Pride from one another.

Cleo. You ſee by this, that it is chiefly the Novelty of Things, that ſtrikes, as well in begetting our Averſion, as in gaining our Approbation; and that we may look upon many indifferently, when they come to be familiar

liar to us, tho' they were ſhocking when they were new. You are now diverting yourſelf with a Truth, which eight Days ago you would have given an hundred Guineas not to have known.

Hor. I begin to believe there is nothing ſo abſurd, that it would appear to us to be ſuch, if we had been accuſtom'd to it very young.

Cleo. In a tolerable Education we are ſo induſtriouſly and ſo aſſiduouſly inſtructed, from our moſt early Infancy, in the Ceremonies of bowing, and pulling off Hats, and other Rules of Behaviour; that even before we are Men we hardly look upon a mannerly Deportment as a Thing acquired, or think Converſation to be a Science. Thouſand things are call'd eaſy and natural in Poſtures and Motions, as well as Speaking and Writing, that have caus'd infinite Pains to others as well as ourſelves, and which we know to be the Product of Art. What aukward Lumps have I known, which the Dancing-maſter has put Limbs to!

Hor. Yeſterday morning, as I ſate muſing by myſelf, an Expreſſion of yours, which I did not ſo much reflect upon at firſt, when I heard it, came in to my Head, and made me ſmile. Speaking of the Rudiments of good Manners in an infant Nation, when they once enter'd upon concealing their Pride, you ſaid, that Improvements would be made every Day, *'till ſome of them grew impudent enough, not only to deny the high Value they had for themſelves,*

ſelves, but likewiſe to pretend that they had greater Value for others, than they had for themſelves.

Cleo. It is certain, that this every where muſt have been the Fore-runner of Flattery.

Hor. When you talk of Flattery and Impudence, what do you think of the firſt Man that had the Face to tell his Equal, that he was his humble Servant?

Cleo. If that had been a new Compliment, I ſhould have wonder'd much more at the Simplicity of the proud Man that ſwallow'd, than I would have done at the Impudence of the Knave that made it.

Hor. It certainly once was new: Which pray do you believe more antient, pulling off the Hat, or ſaying, Your humble Servant?

Cleo. They are both of them *Gothick* and modern.

Hor. I believe pulling off the Hat was firſt, it being the Emblem of Liberty.

Cleo. I don't think ſo: for he who pull'd off his Hat the firſt time, could not have been underſtood; if ſaying *Your Servant* had not been practis'd: and to ſhew Reſpect, a Man as well might have pull'd off one of his Shoes, as his Hat; if ſaying, Your Servant, had not been an eſtabliſh'd and well-known Compliment.

Hor. So he might, as you ſay, and had a better Authority for the firſt, than he could have for the latter.

Cleo.

Cleo: And to this Day, taking off the Hat is a dumb Shew of a known Civility in Words: Mind now the Power of Cuſtom, and imbibed Notions. We both laugh at this *Gothick* Abſurdity, and are well aſſured, that it muſt have had its Origin from the baſeſt Flattery: yet neither of us, walking with our Hats on, could meet an Acquaintance with whom we are not very familiar, without ſhewing this Piece of Civility; nay, it would be a Pain to us not to do it. But we have no Reaſon to think, that the Compliment of ſaying, *Your Servant*, began among Equals; but rather that, Flatterers having given it to Princes, it grew afterwards more common: for all thoſe Poſtures and Flexions of Body and Limbs, had in all Probability their Riſe from the Adulation that was paid to Conquerors and Tyrants; who, having every Body to fear, were always alarm'd at the leaſt Shadow of Oppoſition, and never better pleas'd than with ſubmiſſive and defenceleſs Poſtures: and you ſee, that they have all a Tendency that Way; they promiſe Security, and are ſilent Endeavours to eaſe and rid them, not only of their Fears, but likewiſe every Suſpicion of Harm approaching them: ſuch as lying proſtrate on our Faces, touching the Ground with our Heads, kneeling, bowing low, laying our Hands upon our Breaſts, or holding them behind us, folding our Arms together, and all the Cringes that can be made to demonſtrate,

that we neither indulge our Eaſe, nor ſtand upon our Guard: Theſe are evident Signs and convincing Proofs to a Superior, that we have a mean Opinion of ourſelves in reſpect to him, that we are at his Mercy, and have no Thought to reſiſt, much leſs to attack him; and therefore it is highly probable, that ſaying, Your Servant, and pulling off the Hat, were at firſt Demonſtrations of Obedience to thoſe that claim'd it.

Hor. Which in Tract of Time became more familiar, and were made uſe of reciprocally in the way of Civility.

Cleo. I believe ſo; for as good Manners encreaſe, we ſee, that the higheſt Compliments are made common, and new ones to Superiors invented inſtead of them.

Hor. So the Word *Grace*, which not long ago was a Title, that none but our Kings and Queens were honoured with, is devolved upon Archbiſhops and Dukes.

Cleo. It was the ſame with *Highneſs*, which is now given to the Children, and even the Grandchildren of Kings.

Hor. The Dignity, that is annex'd to the Signification of the Word *Lord*, has been better preſerv'd with us, than in moſt Countries: In *Spaniſh*, *Italian*, *High* and *Low-Dutch*, it is proſtituted to almoſt every Body.

Cleo. It has had better Fate in *France*; where likewiſe the Word *Sire* has loſt nothing of its Majeſty, and is only uſed to the Monarch; whereas

whereas with us it is a Compliment of Addreſs, that may be made to a Cobler, as well as to a King.

Hor. Whatever Alterations may be made in the Senſe of Words, by Time; yet, as the World grows more poliſh'd, Flattery becomes leſs bare-faced, and the Deſign of it upon Man's Pride is better diſguis'd than it was formerly. To praiſe a Man to his Face, was very common among the Ancients: Conſidering Humility to be a Virtue particularly required of Chriſtians, I have often wonder'd how the Fathers of the Church could ſuffer thoſe Acclamations and Applauſes, that were made to them whilſt they were preaching; and which, tho' ſome of them ſpoke againſt them, many of them appear to have been extremely fond of.

Cleo. Human Nature is always the ſame; where Men exert themſelves to the utmoſt, and take uncommon Pains, that ſpend and waſte the Spirits, thoſe Applauſes are very reviving: The Fathers, who ſpoke againſt them, ſpoke chiefly againſt the Abuſe of them.

Hor. It muſt have been very odd to hear People bawling out, as often the greateſt Part of an Audience did, *Sophòs, divinitus, non poteſt melius, mirabiliter, acriter, ingenioſè*: They told the Preachers likewiſe that they were Orthodox, and ſometimes call'd them, *Apoſtolus decimus tertius.*

Cleo. Theſe Words at the end of a Period might have paſs'd, but the Repetitions of them were often ſo loud and ſo general; and the Noiſe they made with their Hands and Feet, ſo diſturbing in and out of Seaſon; that they could not hear a quarter of the Sermon: Yet ſeveral Fathers own'd that it was highly delightful, and ſoothing human Frailty.

Hor. The Behaviour at Churches is more decent, as it is now.

Cleo. Since Paganiſm has been quite extinct in the old Weſtern World, the Zeal of Chriſtians is much diminiſh'd from what it was, when they had many Oppoſers: The want of Fervency had a great hand in aboliſhing that Faſhion.

Hor. But whether it was the Faſhion, or not, it muſt always have been ſhocking.

Cleo. Do you think, that the repeated Acclamations, the Clapping, Stamping, and the moſt extravagant Tokens of Applauſe, that are now uſed at our ſeveral Theatres, were ever ſhocking to a favorite Actor; or that the Huzzah's of the Mob, or the hideous Shouts of Soldiers, were ever ſhocking to Perſons of the higheſt Diſtinction, to whoſe Honour they were made?

Hor. I have known Princes that were very much tired with them.

Cleo. When they had too much of them; but never at firſt. In working a Machine, we ought to have Regard to the Strength of its Frame:

Frame: Limited Creatures are not ſuſceptible of infinite Delight; therefore we ſee, that a Pleaſure protracted beyond its due Bounds becomes a Pain: But where the Cuſtom of the Country is not broken in upon, no Noiſe, that is palpably made in our Praiſe, and which we may hear with Decency, can ever be ungrateful, if it don't out-laſt a reaſonable Time: But there is no Cordial ſo ſovereign, that it may not become offenſive, by being taken to exceſs.

Hor. And the ſweeter and more delicious Liquors are, the ſooner they become fulſom, and the leſs fit they are to ſit by.

Cleo. Your Simile is not amiſs; and the ſame Acclamations that are raviſhing to a Man at firſt, and perhaps continue to give him an unſpeakable Delight for eight or nine Minutes, may become more moderately pleaſing, indifferent, cloying, troubleſome, and even ſo offenſive as to create Pain, all in leſs than three Hours; if they were to continue ſo long without Intermiſſion.

Hor. There muſt be great Witchcraft in Sounds, that they ſhould have ſuch different Effects upon us, as we often ſee they have.

Cleo. The Pleaſure we receive from Acclamations, is not in the Hearing; but proceeds from the Opinion we form of the Cauſe, that produces thoſe Sounds, the Approbation of others. At the Theatres all over *Italy* you have heard, that, when the whole Audience

demands Silence and Attention, which there is an eſtabliſh'd Mark of Benevolence and Applauſe, the Noiſe they make comes very near, and is hardly to be diſtinguiſh'd from, our Hiſſing, which with us is the plaineſt Token of Diſlike and Contempt: And without doubt the Cat-calls to affront *Fauſtina* were far more agreeable to *Cozzoni*, than the moſt artful Sounds ſhe ever heard from her Triumphant Rival.

Hor. That was abominable!

Cleo. The *Turks* ſhew their Reſpects to their Sovereigns by a profound Silence, which is ſtrictly kept throughout the *Seraglio*, and ſtill more religiouſly obſerved the nearer you come to the *Sultan*'s Apartment.

Hor. This latter is certainly the politer way of gratifying one's Pride.

Cleo. All that depends upon Mode and Cuſtom.

Hor. But the Offerings that are made to a Man's Pride in Silence, may be enjoy'd without the loſs of his Hearing, which the other cannot.

Cleo. That is a Trifle, in the Gratification of that Paſſion: We never enjoy higher Pleaſure, from the Appetite we would indulge, than when we feel nothing from any other.

Hor. But Silence expreſſes greater Homage and deeper Veneration, than Noiſe.

Cleo. It is good to ſooth the Pride of a Drone; but an active Man loves to have that Paſſion

Paſſion rous'd, and as it were kept awake, whilſt it is gratify'd; and Approbation from Noiſe is more unqueſtionable than the other: However I won't determine between them; much may be ſaid on both ſides. The *Greeks* and *Romans* uſed Sounds, to ſtir up Men to noble Actions, with great Succeſs; and the Silence obſerved among the *Ottomans* has kept them very well in the ſlaviſh Submiſſion, which their Sovereigns require of them: Perhaps the one does better where abſolute Power is lodg'd in one Perſon, and the other where there is ſome Shew of Liberty. Both are proper Tools to flatter the Pride of Man, when they are underſtood and made uſe of as ſuch. I have known a very brave Man uſed to the Shouts of War, and highly delighted with loud Applauſe, be very angry with his Butler, for making a little ratling with his Plates.

Hor. An old Aunt of mine th' other Day turn'd away a very clever Fellow, for not walking upon his Toes; and I muſt own myſelf, that the ſtamping of Footmen, and all unmannerly Loudneſs of Servants, are very offenſive to me; tho' I never enter'd into the Reaſon of it before now. In our laſt Converſation, when you deſcrib'd the Symptoms of Self-liking, and what the Behaviour would be of an unciviliz'd Man, you named Laughing: I know it is one of the Characteriſticks of our Species: Pray do you take that to be likewiſe the Reſult of Pride?

Cleo. Hobbes is of that Opinion, and in moſt Inſtances it might be derived from thence; but there are ſome *Phænomena* not to be explain'd by that *Hypotheſis*; therefore I would chuſe to ſay, that Laughter is a Mechanical Motion, which we are naturally thrown into, when we are unaccountably pleas'd. When our Pride is feelingly gratify'd; when we hear or ſee any thing which we admire or approve of; or when we are indulging any other Paſſion or Appetite, and the Reaſon why we are pleas'd, ſeems to be juſt and worthy, we are then far from laughing: But when Things or Actions are odd and out of the way, and happen to pleaſe us, when we can give no juſt Reaſon why they ſhould do ſo, it is then, generally ſpeaking, that they make us laugh.

Hor. I would rather ſide with what you ſaid was *Hobbes*'s Opinion: For the Things we commonly laugh at are ſuch, as are ſome way or other mortifying, unbecoming, or prejudicial to others.

Cleo. But what will you ſay to Tickling, which will make an Infant laugh that is deaf and blind?

Hor. Can you account for that, by your Syſtem?

Cleo. Not to my Satisfaction; but I'll tell you what might be ſaid for it. We know by Experience, that the ſmoother, the ſofter, and the more ſenſible the Skin is, the more ticklish Perſons are, generally ſpeaking: We know

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likewiſe, that Things rough, ſharp and hard when they touch the Skin are diſpleaſing to us, even before they give Pain; and that on the contrary every thing, apply'd to the Skin, that is ſoft and ſmooth, and not otherwiſe offenſive, is delightful. It is poſſible, that gentle Touches being impreſs'd on ſeveral nervous Filaments at once, every one of them producing a pleaſing Senſation, may create that confus'd Pleaſure, which is the Occaſion of Laughter.

Hor. But how come you to think of Mechanick Motion, in the Pleaſure of a free Agent?

Cleo. Whatever free Agency we may pretend to in the forming of Ideas, the Effect of them upon the Body is independent of the Will. Nothing is more directly oppoſite to laughing than frowning: The one draws Wrinkles in the Forehead, knits the Brows, and keeps the Mouth ſhut: The other does quite the reverſe; *exporrigere frontem*, you know, is a Latin Phraſe for being merry. In ſighing, the Muſcles of the Belly and Breaſt are pull'd inward, and the Diaphragm is pull'd upward more than ordinary; and we ſeem to endeavour, tho' in vain, to ſqueeze and compreſs the Heart, whilſt we draw in our Breath in a forcible manner; and when in that ſqueezing Poſture we have taken in as much Air, as we can contain, we throw it out with the ſame Violence we ſuck'd it in with, and at

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the ſame time give a ſudden Relaxation to all the Muſcles we employ'd before. Nature certainly deſign'd this for ſomething in the Labour for Self-preſervation, which ſhe forces upon us. How mechanically do all Creatures that can make any Sound cry out, and complain in great Afflictions, as well as Pain and imminent Danger! In great Torments the Efforts of Nature are ſo violent that way, that to diſappoint her, and prevent the Diſcovery of what we feel, by Sounds, and which ſhe bids us make, we are forc'd to draw our Mouth into a Purſe, or elſe ſuck in our Breath, bite our Lips, or ſqueeze them cloſe together, and uſe the moſt effectual Means to hinder the Air from coming out. In Grief we ſigh, in Mirth we laugh: In the latter, little Streſs is laid upon the Reſpiration, and this is perform'd with leſs Regularity than it is at any other time; all the Muſcles without and every thing within feel looſe, and ſeem to have no other Motion, than what is communicated to them by the convulſive Shakes of Laughter.

Hor. I have ſeen People laugh till they loſt all their Strength.

Cleo. How much is all this the Reverſe of what we obſerve in ſighing! When Pain or depth of Woe make us cry out, the Mouth is drawn round, or at leaſt into an Oval; the Lips are thruſted forward without touching each other, and the Tongue is pull'd in, which is the Reaſon that all Nations, when they exclaim, cry, *Oh!* *Ho.*

Hor. Why, pray?

Cleo. Becauſe whilſt the Mouth, Lips, and Tongue remain in thoſe Poſtures, they can ſound no other Vowel, and no Conſonant at all. In laughing, the Lips are pull'd back, and ſtrain'd to draw the Mouth in its fulleſt Length.

Hor. I would not have you lay great Streſs upon that, for it is the ſame in Weeping, which is an undoubted Sign of Sorrow.

Cleo. In great Afflictions, where the Heart is oppreſs'd, and Anxieties, which we endeavour to reſiſt, few People can weep; but when they do, it removes the Oppreſſion, and ſenſibly relieves them: For then their Reſiſtance is gone, and Weeping in Diſtreſs is not ſo much a Sign of Sorrow, as it is an Indication, that we can bear our Sorrow no longer; and therefore it is counted unmanly to weep, becauſe it ſeems to give up our Strength, and is a kind of yielding to our Grief. But the Action of Weeping itſelf is not more peculiar to Grief, than it is to Joy, in adult People; and there are Men, who ſhew great Fortitude in Afflictions, and bear the greateſt Misfortunes with dry Eyes, that will cry heartily at a moving Scene in a Play. Some are eaſily wrought upon by one thing, others are ſooner affected with another; but whatever touches us ſo forcibly, as to overwhelm the Mind, prompts us to weep, and is the mechanical Cauſe of Tears; and therefore, beſides

ſides Grief, Joy, and Pity, there are other things no way relating to ourſelves, that may have this Effect upon us; ſuch as the Relations of ſurprizing Events and ſudden Turns of Providence in behalf of Merit; Inſtances of Heroiſm, of Generoſity; in Love, in Friendſhip, in an Enemy; or the hearing or reading of noble Thoughts and Sentiments of Humanity; more eſpecially, if theſe Things are convey'd to us ſuddenly, in an agreeable manner, and unlook'd for, as well as lively Expreſſions. We ſhall obſerve likewiſe, that none are more ſubject to this Frailty of ſhedding Tears on ſuch foreign Accounts, than Perſons of Ingenuity and quick Apprehenſion; and thoſe among them that are moſt benevolent, generous and open-hearted; whereas the Dull and Stupid, the Cruel, Selfiſh, and Deſigning, are very ſeldom troubled with it. Weeping therefore, in earneſt, is always a ſure and involuntary Demonſtration that ſomething ſtrikes and overcomes the Mind, whatever that be which affects it. We find likewiſe, that outward Violence, as ſharp Winds and Smoak, the *Effluvia* of Onions, and other volatile Salts, *&c.* have the ſame Effect upon the external Fibres of the lachrymal Ducts and Glands, that are expoſed, which the ſudden Swelling and Preſſure of the Spiris has upon thoſe within. The Divine Wiſdom is in nothing more conſpicuous, than in the infinite Variety of living Creatures of different Conſtructi-

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on; every part of them being contriv'd with ſtupendious Skill, and fitted with the utmoſt Accuracy for the different Purpoſes they were deſign'd for: The human Body, above all, is a moſt aſtoniſhing Maſter-piece of Art: The Anatomiſt may have a perfect Knowledge of all the Bones and their Ligaments, the Muſcles and their Tendons, and be able to diſſect every Nerve and every Membrane with great Exactneſs; the Naturaliſt likewiſe may dive a great Way into the inward Oeconomy, and different Symptoms of Health and Sickneſs: They may all approve of, and admire the curious Machine; but no Man can have a tolerable Idea of the Contrivance, the Art, and the Beauty of the Workmanſhip itſelf, even in thoſe Things he can ſee, without being likewiſe vers'd in Geometry and Mechanicks.

Hor. How long is it ago that Mathematicks were brought into Phyſick? That Art, I have heard, is brought to great Certainty by them.

Cleo. What you ſpeak of is quite another thing. Mathematicks never had, nor ever can have, any thing to do with Phyſick; if you mean by it the Art of Curing the Sick. The Structure and Motions of the Body, may, perhaps, be mechanically accounted for, and all Fluids are under the Laws of *Hydroſtaticks*: But we can have no Help from any Part of the Mechanicks, in the Diſcovery of Things,

Things, infinitely remote from Sight, and entirely unknown as to their Shapes and Bulks. Phyſicians, with the reſt of Mankind, are wholly ignorant of the firſt Principles and conſtituent Parts of Things, in which all the Virtues and Properties of them conſiſt; and this, as well of the Blood and other Juices of the Body, as the Simples, and conſequently all the Medicines they make uſe of. There is no Art that has leſs Certainty than theirs, and the moſt valuable Knowledge in it ariſes from Obſervation, and is ſuch; as a Man of Parts and Application, who has fitted himſelf for that Study, can only be poſſeſs'd of, after a long and judicious Experience. But the Pretence to Mathematicks, or the Uſefulneſs of it in the Cure of Diſeaſes, is a Cheat, and as errant a Piece of Quackery as a Stage and a *Merry Andrew.*

Hor. But ſince there is ſo much Skill diſplay'd in the Bones, Muſcles, and groſſer Parts, is it not reaſonable to think, that there is no leſs Art beſtow'd on thoſe that are beyond the Reach of our Senſes?

Cleo. I no ways doubt it: Microſcopes have open'd a new World to us, and I am far from thinking, that Nature ſhould leave off her Work, where we can trace her no further. I am perſuaded that our Thoughts, and the Affections of the Mind, have a more certain and more mechanical Influence upon ſeveral Parts of the Body, than has been hitherto, or in

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all human Probability, ever will be diſcover-ed. The viſible Effect they have on the Eyes, and Muſcles of the Face, muſt ſhew the leaſt attentive, the Reaſon I have for this Aſſer-tion. When in Mens Company we are up-on our Guard, and would preſerve our Digni-ty, the Lips are ſhut and the Jaws meet; the Muſcles of the Mouth are gently braced, and the reſt all over the Face are kept firmly in their Places: Turn away from theſe into ano-ther Room, where you meet with a fine young Lady that is affable and eaſy; imme-diately, before you think on it, your Counte-nance will be ſtrangely alter'd; and without being conſcious of having done any thing to your Face, you'll have quite another Look; and every body, that has obſerv'd you, will diſcover in it more Sweetneſs and leſs Severity than you had the Moment before. When we ſuffer the lower Jaw to ſink down, the Mouth opens a little: If in this Poſture we look ſtrait before us, without fixing our Eyes on any thing, we may imitate the Counte-nance of a Natural; by dropping, as it were, our Features, and laying no Streſs on any Muſcle of the Face. Infants, before they have learn'd to ſwallow their Spittle, generally keep their Mouths open, and are always drivelling: In them, before they ſhew any Underſtand-ing, and whilſt it is yet very confus'd, the Muſcles of the Face are, as it were, relax'd, the lower Jaw falls down, and the Fibres of the

the Lips are unbraced; at leaſt, theſe *Phæno-mena* we obſerve in them, during that Time, more often than we do afterwards. In extreme old Age, when People begin to doat, theſe Symptoms return; and in moſt Idiots they continue to be obſerv'd, as long as they live: Hence it is that we ſay, that a Man wants a Slabbering-Bibb, when he behaves very ſillily, or talks like a natural Fool. When we reflect on all this, on the one hand, and conſider on the other, that none are leſs prone to Anger than Idiots, and no Creatures are leſs affected with Pride, I would ask, whether there is not ſome Degree of Self-liking, that mechanically influences, and ſeems to aſſiſt us, in the decent Wearing of our Faces.

Hor. I cannot reſolve you; what I know very well is, that by theſe Conjectures on the Mechaniſm of Man, I find my Underſtanding very little inform'd: I wonder how we came upon the Subject.

Cleo. You enquired into the Origin of Riſibility, which no body can give an Account of, with any Certainty; and in ſuch Caſes every body is at liberty to make Gueſſes, ſo they draw no Concluſions from them, to the Prejudice of any thing better eſtabliſh'd. But the chief Deſign I had in giving you theſe indigeſted Thoughts, was to hint to you, how really myſterious the Works of Nature are; I mean, how replete they are every where, with

with a Power glaringly conſpicuous, and yet incomprehenſible beyond all human Reach; in order to demonſtrate, that more uſeful Knowledge may be acquired from unwearied Obſervation, judicious Experience, and arguing from Facts *à poſteriori*, than from the haughty Attempts of entring into firſt Cauſes, and reaſoning *à priori*. I don't believe there is a Man in the World of that Sagacity, if he was wholly unacquainted with the Nature of a Spring-Watch, that he would ever find out by dint of Penetration the Cauſe of its Motion, if he was never to ſee the Inſide: But every middling Capacity may be certain, by ſeeing only the Outſide, that its pointing at the Hour, and keeping to Time, proceed from the Exactneſs of ſome curious Workmanſhip that's hid; and that the Motion of the Hands, what Number of Reſorts ſoever it is communicated by, is originally owing to ſomething elſe that firſt moves within. In the ſame manner we are ſure that, as the Effects of Thought upon the Body are palpable, ſeveral Motions are produced by it, by contact, and conſequently mechanically: But the Parts, the Inſtruments which that Operation is perform'd with, are ſo immenſely far remote from our Senſes, and the Swiftneſs of the Action is ſo prodigious, that it infinitely ſurpaſſes our Capacity to trace them.

Hor. But is not Thinking the Buſineſs of the Soul? What has Mechaniſm to do with that?

Cleo. The Soul, whilſt in the Body, cannot be ſaid to think, otherwiſe than an Architect is ſaid to build a Houſe, where the Carpenters, Bricklayers, *&c.* do the Work, which he chalks out and ſuperintends.

Hor. Which Part of the Brain do you think the Soul to be more immediately lodg'd in; or do you take it to be diffuſed through the whole?

Cleo. I know nothing of it more than what I have told you already.

Hor. I plainly feel that this Operation of Thinking is a Labour, or at leaſt ſomething that is tranſacting, in my Head, and not in my Leg nor my Arm: What Inſight or real Knowledge have we from Anatomy concerning it?

Cleo. None at all *à priori*: The moſt conſummate Anatomiſt knows no more of it than a Butcher's Prentice. We may admire the curious Duplicate of Coats, and cloſe Embroidery of Veins and Arteries that environ the Brain: But when diſſecting it we have viewed the ſeveral Pairs of Nerves with their Origin, and taken Notice of ſome Glands of various Shapes and Sizes, which differing from the Brain in Subſtance, could not but ruſh in View; when theſe, I ſay, have been

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taken Notice of, and diſtinguiſh'd by different Names, ſome of them not very pertinent, and leſs polite, the beſt Naturaliſt muſt acknowledge, that even of theſe large viſible Parts there are but few, the Nerves and Blood-Veſſels excepted, at the Uſe of which he can give any tollerable Gueſſes: But as to the myſterious Structure of the Brain itſelf, and the more abſtruſe Oeconomy of it, that he knows nothing; but that the whole ſeems to be a medullary Subſtance, compactly treaſur'd up in infinite Millions of imperceptible Cells, that diſpos'd in an unconceivable Order, are cluſter'd together in a perplexing Variety of Folds and Windings. He'll add, perhaps, that it is reaſonable to think, this to be the capacious Exchequer of human Knowledge, in which the faithful Senſes depoſite the vaſt Treaſure of Images, conſtantly, as through their Organs they receive them: That it is the Office in which the Spirits are ſeparated from the Blood, and afterwards ſublim'd and volatiliz'd into Particles hardly corporeal; and that the moſt minute of theſe are always, either ſearching for, or variouſly diſpoſing the Images retain'd, and ſhooting through the infinite Meanders of that wonderful Subſtance, employ themſelves, without ceaſing, in that inexplicable Performance, the Contemplation of which fills the moſt exalted Genius with Amazement.

Hor. 'Theſe are very airy Conjectures, but nothing of all this can be proved; the Smallneſs of the Parts, you'll ſay, is the Reaſon; but if greater Improvements were made in Optick Glaſſes, and Microſcopes could be invented that magnify'd Objects three or four Millions of Times more than they do now, then certainly thoſe minute Particles, ſo immenſely remote from the Senſes you ſpeak of, might be obſerved, if that which does the Work is corporeal at all.

Cleo. That ſuch Improvements are impoſſible, is demonſtrable; but if it was not, even then we could have little Help from Anatomy. The Brain of an Animal cannot be look'd and ſearch'd into whilſt it is alive. Should you take the main Spring out of a Watch, and leave the Barrel that contain'd it, ſtanding empty, it would be impoſſible to find out what it had been that made it exert itſelf, whilſt it ſhew'd the Time. We might examine all the Wheels, and every other Part belonging, either to the *Movement* or the *Motion*, and, perhaps, find out the Uſe of them, in relation to the Turning of the Hands; but the firſt Cauſe of this Labour would remain a Myſtery for ever.

Hor. The main Spring in us is the Soul, which is immaterial and immortal: But what is that to other Creatures that have a Brain like ours, and no ſuch immortal Subſtance diſtinct from

from Body? Don't you believe that Dogs and Horſes think?

Cleo. I believe they do, though in a Degree of Perfection far inferior to us.

Hor. What is it, that ſuperintends Thought in them? where muſt we look for it? which is the main Spring?

Cleo. I can anſwer you no otherwiſe, than Life.

Hor. What is Life?

Cleo. Every body underſtands the Meaning of the Word, though, perhaps, no body knows the Principle of Life, that Part which gives Motion to all the reſt.

Hor. Where Men are certain that the Truth of a Thing is not to be known, they will always differ, and endeavour to impoſe upon one another.

Cleo. Whilſt there are Fools and Knaves they will: But I have not impos'd upon you: What I ſaid of the Labour of the Brain, I told you, was a Conjecture, which I recommend no farther to you than you ſhall think it probable. You ought to expect no Demonſtration of a Thing, that from its Nature can admit of none. When the Breath is gone, and the Circulation ceas'd, the Inſide of an Animal is vaſtly different from what it was whilſt the Lungs play'd, and the Blood and Juices were in full Motion through every Part of it. You have ſeen thoſe Engines that raiſe Water by the Help of Fire; the Steam

you know, is that which forces it up; it is as impoſſible to ſee the volatile Particles that perform the Labour of the Brain, when the Creature is dead, as in the Engine it would be to ſee the Steam, (which yet does all the Work) when the Fire is out and the Water cold. Yet if this Engine was ſhewn to a Man when it was not at Work, and it was explain'd to him, which Way it rais'd the Water, it would be a ſtrange Incredulity, or great Dullneſs of Apprehenſion, not to believe it; if he knew perfectly well, that by Heat, Liquids may be rarified into Vapour.

Hor. But don't you think there is a Difference in Souls, and are they all equally good or equally bad?

Cleo. We have ſome tolerable Ideas of Matter and Motion; or, at leaſt, of what we mean by them, and therefore we may form Idea's of Things corporeal, though they are beyond the Reach of our Senſes; and we can conceive any Portion of Matter a thouſand times leſs than our Eyes, even by the Help of the beſt Microſcopes, are able to ſee it: But the Soul is altogether incomprehenſible, and we can determine but little about it, that is not reveal'd to us. I believe that the Difference of Capacities in Men depends upon, and is entirely owing to, the Difference there is between them, either in the Fabrick itſelf, that is, the greater or leſſer Exactneſs in the Compoſure of their Frame, or elſe in the Uſe that

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is made of it. The Brain of a Child, newly born, is *Charte Blanche*; and, as you have hinted very juſtly, we have no Ideas, which we are not obliged for to our Senſes. I make no queſtion, but that in this Rummaging of the Spirits through the Brain, in hunting after, joyning, ſeparating, changing, and compounding of Ideas with inconceivable Swiftneſs, under the Superintendency of the Soul, the Action of Thinking conſiſts. The beſt Thing, therefore, we can do to Infants after the firſt Month, beſides feeding and keeping them from Harm, is to make them take in Ideas, beginning by the two moſt uſeful Senſes, the Sight and Hearing; and diſpoſe them to ſet about this Labour of the Brain, and by our Example, encourage them to imitate us in Thinking; which, on their Side, is very poorly perform'd at firſt. Therefore the more an Infant, in Health, is talk'd to, and jumbl'd about, the better it is for it, at leaſt, for the firſt two Years; and for its Attendance in this early Education, to the wiſeſt Matron in the World, I would prefer an active young Wench, whoſe Tongue never ſtands ſtill, that ſhould run about, and never ceaſe diverting and playing with it whilſt it was awake; and where People can afford it, two or three of them, to relieve one another when they are tired, are better than one.

Hor. Then you think Children reap great Benefit from the non-ſenſical Chat of Nurſes?

Cleo. It is of ineſtimable Uſe to them, and teaches them to think, as well as ſpeak, much ſooner and better, than with equal aptitude of Parts they would do without. The Buſineſs is to make them exert thoſe Faculties, and keep Infants continually employ'd about them; for the time which is loſt then, is never to be retriev'd.

Hor. Yet we ſeldom remember any thing of what we ſaw or heard, before we were two Years old: then what would be loſt, if Children ſhould not hear all that Impertinence?

Cleo. As Iron is to be hammer'd whilſt it is hot and ductile, ſo Children are to be taught when they are young: as the Fleſh and every Tube and Membrane about them, are then tenderer, and will yield ſooner to ſlight Impreſſions, than afterwards; ſo many of their Bones are but Cartilages, and the Brain itſelf is much ſofter, and in a manner fluid: This is the Reaſon, that it cannot ſo well retain the Images it receives, as it does afterwards, when the Subſtance of it comes to be of a better Conſiſtence. But as the firſt Images are loſt, ſo they are continually ſucceeded by new ones; and the Brain at firſt ſerves as a Slate to Cypher, or a Sampler to work upon. What Infants ſhould chiefly learn, is the Performance itſelf, the Exerciſe of Thinking, and to contract

tract a Habit of diſpoſing, and with Eaſe and Agility managing the Images retain'd, to the Purpoſe intended: which is never attain'd better than whilſt the Matter is yielding, and the Organs are moſt flexible and ſupple. So they but exerciſe themſelves in thinking and ſpeaking, it is no Matter what they think on, or what they ſay, that is inoffenſive. In ſprightly Infants we ſoon ſee by their Eyes the Efforts they are making to imitate us, before they are able; and that they try at this Exerciſe of the Brain, and make Eſſays to think, as well as they do, to hammer out Words, we may know from the Incoherence of their Actions, and the ſtrange Abſurdities they utter: but as there are more Degrees of Thinking well, than there are of Speaking plain, the firſt is of the greateſt Conſequence.

Hor. I wonder you ſhould talk of teaching, and lay ſo great a Streſs on a thing that comes ſo naturally to us, as Thinking: no Action is perform'd with greater Velocity by every Body: *as quick as Thought*, is a Proverb, and in leſs than a Moment a ſtupid Peaſant may remove his Ideas from *London* to *Japan*, as eaſily as the greateſt Wit.

Cleo. Yet there is nothing, in which Men differ ſo immenſely from one another, as they do in the Exerciſe of this Faculty: the differences between them in Height, Bulk, Strength, and Beauty, are trifling, in Compariſon to that which I ſpeak of; and there is nothing in the World

World more valuable, or more plainly perceptible in Perſons, than a happy Dexterity of Thinking. Two Men may have equal Knowledge, and yet the one ſhall ſpeak as well off-hand, as the other can after two Hours Study.

Hor. I take it for granted, that no Man would ſtudy two Hours for a Speech, if he knew how to make it in leſs; and therefore I can't ſee what Reaſon you have, to ſuppoſe two ſuch Perſons to be of equal Knowledge.

Cleo. There is a double Meaning in the Word, *knowing*, which you ſeem not to attend to. There is a great Difference between knowing a Violin when you ſee it, and knowing how to play upon it. The Knowledge I ſpeak of is of the firſt ſort; and if you conſider it in that Senſe, you muſt be of my Opinion; for no Study can fetch any thing out of the Brain that is not there. Suppoſe you conceive a ſhort Epiſtle in three Minutes, which another, who can make Letters and join them together as faſt as your ſelf, is yet an Hour about, tho' both of you write the ſame thing: it is plain to me, that the ſlow Perſon knows as much as you do; at leaſt it does not appear that he knows leſs: he has receiv'd the ſame Images, but he cannot come at them, or at leaſt not diſpoſe them in that order, ſo ſoon as yourſelf. When we ſee two Exerciſes of equal Goodneſs, either in proſe or verſe; if the one is made *ex tempore*, and we are ſure of it, and the other has coſt two Days Labour,

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the Author of the firſt is a Perſon of finer natural Parts than the other, tho' their Knowledge, for ought we know, is the ſame: you ſee then the Difference between Knowledge, as it ſignifies the Treaſure of Images receiv'd, and Knowledge, or rather Skill, to find out thoſe Images when we want them, and work them readily to our Purpoſe.

Hor. When we know a Thing, and cannot readily think of it, or bring it to mind, I thought that was the Fault of the Memory.

Cleo. So it may be in part: but there are Men of prodigious Reading, that have likewiſe great Memories, who judge ill, and ſeldom ſay any thing *a propos*, or ſay it when it is too late. Among the *helluones librorum*, the Cormorants of Books, there are wretched Reaſoners, that have canine Appetites, and no Digeſtion. What Numbers of learned Fools do we not meet with in large Libraries; from whoſe Works it is evident, that Knowledge muſt have lain in their Heads, as Furniture at an Upholder's; and the Treaſure of the Brain was a Burden to them, inſtead of an Ornament! All this proceeds from a Defect in the Faculty of Thinking; an Unskilfulneſs, and want of Aptitude in managing, to the beſt Advantage, the Idea's we have receiv'd. We ſee others, on the contrary, that have very fine Senſe, and no Litterature at all. The generality of Women are quicker of Invention, and more ready at Repartee, than the Men, with

with equal Helps of Education; and it is ſurprizing to ſee, what a conſiderable Figure ſome of them make in Converſation, when we conſider the ſmall Opportunities they have had of acquiring Knowledge.

Hor. But ſound Judgment is a great Rarity among them.

Cleo. Only for want of Practice, Application and Aſſiduity. Thinking on abſtruſe Matters, is not their Province in Life; and the Stations they are commonly placed in, find them other Employment: but there is no Labour of the Brain, which Women are not as capable of performing, at leaſt, as well as the Men, with the ſame Aſſiſtance, if they ſet about, and perſevere in it: ſound Judgment is no more than the Reſult of that Labour; he that uſes himſelf to take Things to Pieces, to compare them together, to conſider them abſtractly and impartially; that is, he, who of two Propoſitions he is to examine, ſeems not to care which is true; he that lays the whole Streſs of his Mind on every Part alike, and puts the ſame Thing in all the Views it can be ſeen in: he, I ſay, that employs himſelf moſt often in this Exerciſe, is moſt likely, *cæteris paribus*, to acquire what we call a ſound Judgment. The Workmanſhip in the Make of Women ſeems to be more elegant, and better finiſh'd: the Features are more delicate, the Voice is ſweeter, the whole Outſide of them is more curiouſly wove, than they

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are in Men; and the difference in the Skin between theirs and ours is the ſame, as there is between fine Cloth and coarſe. There is no Reaſon to imagine, that Nature ſhould have been more neglectful of them out of Sight, than ſhe has where we can trace her; and not have taken the ſame Care of them in the Formation of the Brain, as to the Nicety of the Structure, and ſuperior Accuracy in the Fabrick, which is ſo viſible in the reſt of their Frame.

Hor. Beauty is their Attribute, as Strength is ours.

Cleo. How minute ſoever thoſe Particles of the Brain are, that contain the ſeveral Images, and are aſſiſting in the Operation of Thinking, there muſt be a difference in the Juſtneſs, the Symmetry, and Exactneſs of them, between one Perſon and another, as well as there is in the groſſer Parts: what the Women excel us in then, is the Goodneſs of the Inſtrument, either in the Harmony, or Pliableneſs of the Organs, which muſt be very material in the Art of Thinking, and is the only thing that deſerves the Name of Natural Parts; ſince the Aptitude I have ſpoke of, depending upon Exerciſe, is notoriouſly acquired.

Hor. As the Workmanſhip in the Brain is rather more curious in Women than it is in Men, ſo in Sheep and Oxen, Dogs and Horſes, I ſuppoſe it is infinitely coarſer.

Cleo.

Cleo. We have no Reaſon to think otherwiſe.

Hor. But after all, that Self, that Part of us that wills and wiſhes, that chuſes one thing rather than another, muſt be incorporeal: For if it is Matter, it muſt either be one ſingle Particle, which I can almoſt feel it is not, or a Combination of many, which is more than inconceivable.

Cleo. I don't deny what you ſay; and that the Principle of Thought and Action is inexplicable in all Creatures, I have hinted already: But its being incorporeal does not mend the Matter, as to the Difficulty of explaining or conceiving it. That there muſt be a mutual Contact between this Principle, whatever it is, and the Body itſelf, is what we are certain of *à poſteriori*; and a reciprocal Action upon each other, between an immaterial Subſtance and Matter, is as incomprehenſible to human Capacity, as that Thought ſhould be the Reſult of Matter and Motion.

Hor. Tho' many other Animals ſeem to be endued with Thought, there is no Creature we are acquainted with, beſides Man, that ſhews or ſeems to feel, a Conſciouſneſs of his Thinking.

Cleo. It is not eaſy to determine what Inſtincts, Properties or Capacities other Creatures are either poſſeſs'd or deſtitute of, when thoſe Qualifications fall not under our Senſes: But it is highly probable that the principal

and moſt neceſſary Parts of the Machine are leſs elaborate in Animals, that attain to all the Perfection they are capable of, in three, four, five, or ſix Years at furtheſt, than they are in a Creature that hardly comes to Maturity, its full Growth and Strength, in five and twenty. The Conſciouſneſs of a Man of fifty, that he is the ſame Man that did ſuch a thing at twenty, and was once the Boy that had ſuch and ſuch Maſters, depends wholly upon the Memory, and can never be traced to the Bottom: I mean, that no Man remembers any thing of himſelf, or what was tranſacted before he was two Years old, when he was but a Novice in the Art of Thinking, and the Brain was not yet of a due Conſiſtence to retain long the Images it receiv'd: But this Remembrance, how far ſoever it may reach, gives us no greater Surety of our ſelves, than we ſhould have of another that had been brought up with us, and never above a Week or a Month out of Sight. A Mother, when her Son is thirty Years old, has more Reaſon to know that he is the ſame whom ſhe brought into the World, than himſelf; and ſuch a one, who daily minds her Son, and remembers the Alterations of his Features from time to time, is more certain of him that he was not chang'd in the Cradle, than ſhe can be of herſelf. So that all we can know of this Conſciouſneſs is, that it conſiſts in, or is the Reſult of, the running and rummaging of the Spirits through

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all the Mazes of the Brain, and their looking there for Facts concerning ourſelves: He that has loſt his Memory, tho' otherwiſe in perfect Health, can't think better than a Fool, and is no more conſcious that he is the ſame he was a Year ago, than he is of a Man whom he has known but a Fortnight. There are ſeveral Degrees of loſing our Memory, but he who has entirely loſt it becomes, *ipſo facto*, an Idiot.

Hor. I am conſcious of having been the Occaſion of our rambling a great way from the Subject we were upon, but I don't repent of it: What you have ſaid of the OEconomy of the Brain, and the Mechanical Influence of Thought upon the groſſer Parts, is a noble Theme for Contemplation, on the infinite unutterable Wiſdom, with which the various Inſtincts are ſo viſibly planted in all Animals, to fit them for the reſpective Purpoſes they were deſign'd for; and every Appetite is ſo wonderfully interwove with the very Subſtance of their Frame. Nothing could be more ſeaſonable, after you had ſhew'd me the Origin of Politeneſs, and in the Management of Self-liking ſet forth the Excellency of our Species beyond all other Animals, ſo conſpicuous in the ſuperlative Docility and indefatigable Induſtry; by which all Multitudes are capable of drawing innumerable Benefits, as well for the Eaſe and Comfort, as the Welfare and Safety of congregate Bodies, from a moſt ſtubborn

born and an unconquerable Paſſion, which in its Nature ſeems to be deſtructive to Sociableneſs and Society, and never fails, in untaught Men, to render them inſufferable to one another.

Cleo. By the ſame Method of reaſoning from Facts *à poſteriori*, that has laid open to us the Nature and Uſefulneſs of Self-liking, all the reſt of the Paſſions may eaſily be accounted for, and become intelligible. It is evident, that the Neceſſaries of Life ſtand not every where ready diſh'd up before all Creatures; therefore they have Inſtincts, that prompt them to look out for thoſe Neceſſaries, and teach them how to come at them. The Zeal and Alacrity to gratify their Appetites is always proportion'd to the Strength, and the Degree of Force, with which thoſe Inſtincts work upon every Creature: But conſidering the Diſpoſition of things upon Earth, and the multiplicity of Animals, that have all their own Wants to ſupply, it muſt be obvious that theſe Attempts of Creatures, to obey the different Calls of Nature, will be often oppos'd and fruſtrated; and that, in many Animals, they would ſeldom meet with Succeſs; if every Individual was not endued with a Paſſion that, ſummoning all his Strength, inſpired him with a tranſporting Eagerneſs to overcome the Obſtacles that hinder him in his great Work of Self-Preſervation. The Paſſion I deſcribe is call'd Anger. How a Creature poſſeſs'd of

this Paſſion and Self-liking, when he ſees others enjoy what he wants, ſhould be affected with Envy, can likewiſe be no Myſtery. After Labour, the moſt ſavage and the moſt induſtrious Creature ſeeks Reſt: Hence we learn that all of them are furniſh'd, more or leſs, with a Love of Eaſe: Exerting their Strength tires them; and the loſs of Spirits, Experience teaches us, is beſt repair'd by Food and Sleep. We ſee that Creatures, who in their way of living muſt meet with the greateſt Oppoſition, have the greateſt ſhare of Anger, and are born with offenſive Arms. If this Anger was to employ a Creature always, without Conſideration of the Danger he expoſed himſelf to, he would ſoon be deſtroy'd: For this Reaſon they are all endued with Fear; and the Lion himſelf turns Tail, if the Hunters are arm'd, and too numerous. From what we obſerve in the Behaviour of Brutes, we have Reaſon to think, that among the more perfect Animals, thoſe of the ſame Species have a Capacity on many Occaſions, to make their Wants known to one another; and we are ſure of ſeveral, not only that they underſtand one another, but likewiſe that they may be made to underſtand us. In comparing our Species with that of other Animals, when we conſider the Make of Man, and the Qualifications that are obvious in him, his ſuperiour Capacity in the Faculties of thinking and reflecting, beyond other Creatures, his being capable of learn-

ing to ſpeak, and the Uſefulneſs of his Hands and Fingers, there is no room to doubt, that he is more fit for Society than any other Animal we know.

Hor. Since you wholly reject my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Syſtem, I wiſh you would give me your Opinion at large concerning Society, and the Sociableneſs of Man; and I will hearken to you with great Attention.

Cleo. The Cauſe of Sociableneſs in Man, that is his Fitneſs for Society, is no ſuch abſtruſe Matter: A Perſon of midling Capacity, that has ſome Experience, and a tolerable Knowledge of human Nature, may ſoon find it out, if his Deſire of knowing the Truth be ſincere, and he will look for it without Preposſeſſion; but moſt People that have treated on this Subject had a Turn to ſerve, and a Cauſe in View which they were reſolved to maintain. It is very unworthy of a Philoſopher to ſay, as *Hobbes* did, that Man is born unfit for Society, and alledge no better Reaſon for it, than the Incapacity that Infants come into the World with; but ſome of his Adverſaries have as far overſhot the Mark, when they aſſerted, that every thing which Men can attain to, ought to be eſteem'd as a Cauſe of his Fitneſs for Society.

Hor. But is there in the Mind of Man a natural Affection, that prompts him to love his Species, beyond what other Animals have for theirs; or are we born with Hatred and Aver-

ſion, that makes us Wolves and Bears, to one another?

Cleo. I believe neither. From what appears to us in human Affairs, and the Works of Nature, we have more Reaſon to imagine that the Deſire as well as Aptneſs of Man to aſſociate, do not proceed from his Love to others, than we have to believe that a mutual Affection of the Planets to one another, ſuperiour to what they feel to Stars more remote, is not the true Cauſe why they keep always moving together in the ſame ſolar Syſtem.

Hor. You don't believe that the Stars have any Love for one another, I am ſure: Then why, *more Reaſon?*

Cleo. Becauſe there are no *Phænomena*, plainly to contradict this Love of the Planets; and we meet with Thouſands every Day to convince us, that Man centers every thing in himſelf, and neither loves nor hates, but for his own Sake. Every Individual is a little World by itſelf, and all Creatures, as far as their Underſtanding and Abilities will let them, endeavour to make that Self happy: This in all of them is the continual Labour, and ſeems to be the whole Deſign of Life. Hence it follows, that in the Choice of Things Men muſt be determin'd by the Perception they have of Happineſs; and no Perſon can commit or ſet about an Action, which at that then preſent time ſeems not to be the beſt to him.

Hor.

Hor. What will you ſay then to, *video meliora proboque, deteriora ſequor?*

Cleo. That only ſhews the Turpitude of our Inclinations. But Men may ſay what they pleaſe: Every Motion in a free Agent which he does not approve of, is either convulſive, or it is not his; I ſpeak of thoſe that are ſubject to the Will. When two Things are left to a Perſon's Choice, it is a Demonſtration, that he thinks That moſt eligible which he chuſes, how contradictory, impertinent or pernicious ſoever his Reaſon for chuſing it may be: Without this there could be no voluntary *Suicide*; and it would be Injuſtice to puniſh Men for their Crimes.

Hor. I believe every Body endeavours to be pleas'd; but it is inconceivable that Creatures of the ſame Species ſhould differ ſo much from one another, as Men do in their Notions of Pleaſure; and that ſome of them ſhould take Delight in what is the greateſt Averſion to others: All aim at Happineſs, but the Queſtion is, where it is to be found.

Cleo. It is with complete Felicity in this World, as it is with the Philoſopher's Stone: Both have been ſought after many different Ways, by wiſe Men as well as Fools, tho' neither of them has been obtain'd hitherto: But in ſearching after either, diligent Enquirers have often ſtumbled by Chance on uſeful Diſcoveries of Things they did not look for, and which human Sagacity, labouring with De-

ſign *à priori* never would have detected. Multitudes of our Species may, in any habitable part of the Globe, aſſiſt one another in a common Defence, and be rais'd into a Body politick, in which Men ſhall live comfortably together for many Centuries, without being acquainted with a thouſand things, that if known would every one of them be inſtrumental to render the Happineſs of the Publick more complete, according to the common Notions, Men have of Happineſs. In one part of the World we have found great and flouriſhing Nations that knew nothing of Ships; and in others, Traffick by Sea had been in uſe above two thouſand Years, and Navigation had receiv'd innumerable Improvements, before they knew, how to ſail by the help of the Loadſtone: It would be ridiculous to alledge this piece of Knowledge, either as a Reaſon, why Man firſt choſe to go to Sea, or as an Argument to prove his natural Capacity for Maritime Affairs. To raiſe a Garden, it is neceſſary that we ſhould have a Soil, and a Climate fit for that Purpoſe: When we have theſe, we want nothing beſides Patience, but the Seeds of Vegetables, and proper Culture. Fine Walks and Canals, Statues, Summer-houſes, Fountains and Caſkades are great Improvements on the Delights of Nature; but they are not eſſential to the Exiſtence of a Garden. All Nations muſt have had mean Beginnings; and it is in thoſe, the Infancy of them,

them, that the Sociableneſs of Man is as conſpicuous as it can be ever after. Man is call'd a Sociable Creature chiefly for two Reaſons; Firſt, becauſe it is commonly imagin'd, that he is naturally more fond, and deſirous of Society, than any other Creature. Secondly, becauſe it is manifeſt, that aſſociating in Men turns to better Account, than it poſſibly could do in other Animals, if they were to attempt it.

Hor. But why do you ſay of the firſt, that it is commonly imagin'd; is it not true then?

Cleo. I have a very good Reaſon for this Caution. All Men born in Society are certainly more deſirous of it, than any other Animal; but whether Man be naturally ſo, that's a Queſtion: But, if he was, it is no Excellency, nothing to brag of: The Love Man has for his Eaſe and Security, and his perpetual Deſire of meliorating his Condition, muſt be ſufficient Motives to make him fond of Society; conſidering the neceſſitous and helpleſs Condition of his Nature.

Hor. Don't you fall into the ſame Error, which you ſay *Hobbes* has been guilty of, when you talk of Man's neceſſitous and helpleſs Condition?

Cleo. Not at all; I ſpeak of Men and Women full grown; and the more extenſive their Knowledge is, the higher their Quality, and the greater their Poſſeſſions are, the more neceſſitous and helpleſs they are in their Nature.

A Nobleman of 25 or 30 Thouſand Pounds a Year, that has three or four Coaches and Six, and above fifty People to ſerve him, is in his Perſon conſider'd ſingly, abſtract from what he poſſeſſes, more neceſſitous than an obſcure Man, that has but fifty Pounds a Year, and is uſed to walk a-foot: So a Lady, who never ſtuck a Pin in herſelf, and is dreſs'd and undreſs'd from Head to Foot like a joynted Baby, by her Woman and the Aſſiſtance of another Maid or two, is a more helpleſs Creature than *Doll* the Dairy-Maid, who all the Winter long dreſſes herſelf in the Dark, in leſs time than the other beſtows in placing of her Patches.

Hor. But is the Deſire of meliorating our Condition, which you named, ſo general, that no Man is without it?

Cleo. Not one that can be call'd a ſociable Creature; and I believe this to be as much a Characteriſtick of our Species, as any can be named: For there is not a Man in the World, educated in Society, who, if he could compaſs it by wiſhing, would not have ſomething added to, taken from, or alter'd in his Perſon, Poſſeſſions, Circumſtances, or any part of the Society he belongs to. This is what is not to be perceiv'd in any Creature but Man; whoſe great Induſtry in ſupplying what he calls his Wants, could never have been known ſo well as it is, if it had not been for the Unreaſonableneſs, as well as Multiplicity, of his

Deſires. From all which it is manifeſt, that the moſt civiliz'd People ſtand moſt in need of Society, and conſequently none leſs than Savages. The ſecond Reaſon for which I ſaid Man was call'd Sociable, is, that aſſociating together turn'd to better Account in our Species, than it would do in any other, if they were to try it. To find out the Reaſon of this, we muſt ſearch into humane Nature for ſuch Qualifications as we excel all other Animals in, and which the Generality of Men are endued with, taught or untaught: But in doing this, we ſhould neglect nothing that is obſervable in them, from their moſt early Youth to their extreme old Age.

Hor. I can't ſee, why you uſe this Precaution, of taking in the whole Age of Man; would it not be ſufficient to mind thoſe Qualifications which he is poſſeſs'd of, when he is come to the height of Maturity, or his greateſt Perfection?

Cleo. A conſiderable part of what is call'd Docility in Creatures, depends upon the Pliableneſs of the Parts, and their Fitneſs to be moved with Facility, which are either entirely loſt, or very much impair'd, when they are full grown. There is nothing in which our Species ſo far ſurpaſſes all others, than in the Capacity of acquiring the Faculty of Thinking and Speaking well: That this is a peculiar Property belonging to our Nature is very certain, yet it is as manifeſt, that this Capaci-

ty vaniſhes, when we come to Maturity, if till then it has been neglected. The Term of Life likewiſe, that is commonly enjoy'd by our Species, being longer than it is in moſt other Animals, we have a Prerogative above them in point of Time; and Man has a greater Opportunity of advancing in Wiſdom, though not to be acquired but by his own Experience, than a Creature that lives but half his Age, though it had the ſame Capacity. A Man of threeſcore, *cæteris paribus*, knows better what is to be embraced or avoided in Life, than a Man of thirty. What *Mitio*, in excuſing the Follies of Youth, ſaid to his Brother *Demea*, in the *Adelphi*, *ad omnia alia Ætate ſapimus rectius*, holds among Savages, as well as among Philoſophers. It is the Concurrence of theſe, with other Properties, that together compoſe the Sociableneſs of Man.

Hor. But why may not the Love of our Species be named, as one of theſe Properties?

Cleo. Firſt, becauſe, as I have ſaid already, it does not appear, that we have it beyond other Animals: Secondly, becauſe it is out of the Queſtion: For if we examine into the Nature of all Bodies Politick, we ſhall find, that no Dependance is ever had, or Streſs laid on any ſuch Affection, either for the Raiſing or Maintaining of them.

Hor.

Hor. But the Epithet itſelf, the Signification of the Word, imports this Love to one another; as is manifeſt from the contrary. One who loves Solitude, is averſe to Company; or of a ſingular, reſerv'd, and ſullen Temper, is the very Reverſe of a Sociable Man.

Cleo. When we compare ſome Men to others, the Word, I own, is often uſed in that Senſe: But when we ſpeak of a Quality peculiar to our Species, and ſay, that Man is a Sociable Creature, the Word implies no more, than that in our Nature we have a certain Fitneſs, by which great Multitudes of us cooperating, may be united and form'd into one Body; that endued with, and able to make Uſe of, the Strength, Skill, and Prudence of every Individual, ſhall govern itſelf, and act on all Emergencies, as if it was animated by one Soul, and actuated by one Will. I am willing to allow, that among the Motives, that prompt Man to enter into Society, there is a Deſire which he has naturally after Company; but he has it for his own Sake, in hopes of being the better for it; and he would never wiſh for, either Company or any thing elſe, but for ſome Advantage or other he propoſes to himſelf from it. What I deny is, that Man naturally has ſuch a Deſire, out of a Fondneſs to his Species, ſuperiour to what other Animals have for theirs. It is a Compliment which we commonly pay to ourſelves, but there is no more Reality in it, than in

in our being one another's humble Servants; and I inſiſt upon it, that this pretended Love of our Species, and natural Affection we are ſaid to have for one another, beyond other Animals, is neither inſtrumental to the Erecting of Societies, nor ever truſted to in our prudent Commerce with one another, when aſſociated, any more than if it had no Exiſtence. The undoubted Baſis of all Societies is Government: This Truth, well examin'd into, will furniſh us with all the Reaſons of Man's Excellency, as to Sociableneſs. It is evident from it, that Creatures, to be rais'd into a Community, muſt, in the firſt Place, be governable: This is a Qualification that requires Fear, and ſome degree of Underſtanding; for a Creature not ſuſceptible of Fear, is never to be govern'd; and the more Senſe and Courage it has, the more refractory and untractable it will be, without the Influence of that uſeful Paſſion: And again, Fear without Underſtanding puts Creatures only upon avoiding the Danger dreaded, without conſidering what will become of themſelves afterwards: So wild Birds will beat out their Brains againſt the Cage, before they will ſave their Lives by eating. There is great Difference between being ſubmiſſive, and being governable; for he who barely ſubmits to another, only embraces what he diſlikes, to ſhun what he diſlikes more; and we may be very ſubmiſſive, and be of no Uſe to the Perſon

ſon we ſubmit to! But to be governable, implies an Endeavour to pleaſe, and a Willingneſs to exert ourſelves in behalf of the Perſon that governs: But Love beginning every where at Home, no Creature can labour for others, and be eaſy long, whilſt Self is wholly out of the Queſtion: Therefore a Creature is then truly governable, when, reconcil'd to Submiſſion, it has learn'd to conſtrue his Servitude to his own Advantage; and reſts ſatisfy'd with the Account it finds for itſelf, in the Labour it performs for others. Several kinds of Animals are, or may, with little Trouble, be made thus governable; but there is not one Creature ſo tame, that it can be made to ſerve its own Species, but Man; yet without this he could never have been made ſociable.

Hor. But was not Man, by Nature, deſigned for Society?

Cleo. We know from Revelation that Man was made for Society.

Hor. But, if it had not been reveal'd, or you had been a *Chineſe*, or a *Mexican*, what would you anſwer me as a Philoſopher?

Cleo. That Nature had deſign'd Man for Society, as ſhe has made Grapes for Wine.

Hor. To make Wine is an Invention of Man, as it is to preſs Oil from Olives and other Vegetables, and to make Ropes of Hemp.

Cleo. And ſo it is to form a Society of independent Multitudes; and there is nothing that requires greater Skill. *Hor.*

Hor. But is not the Sociableneſs of Man the Work of Nature, or rather of the Author of Nature, Divine Providence?

Cleo. Without doubt: But ſo is the innate Virtue and peculiar Aptitude of every thing; that Grapes are fit to make Wine, and Barley and Water to make other Liquors, is the Work of Providence; but it is human Sagacity that finds out the Uſes we make of them: All the other Capacities of Man likewiſe, as well as his Sociableneſs, are evidently derived from God, who made him: Every thing therefore that our Induſtry can produce or compaſs, is originally owing to the Author of our Being. But when we ſpeak of the Works of Nature, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe of Art, we mean ſuch, as were brought forth without our Concurrence. So Nature in due Seaſon produces Peas; but in *England* you cannot have them green in *January*, without Art and uncommon Induſtry. What Nature deſigns, ſhe executes herſelf: There are Creatures, of whom it is viſible, that Nature has deſign'd them for Society, as is moſt obvious in Bees, to whom ſhe has given Inſtincts for that purpoſe, as appears from the Effects. We owe our Being, and every thing elſe, to the great Author of the Univerſe; but as Societies cannot ſubſiſt without his preſerving Power, ſo they cannot exiſt without the Concurrence of human Wiſdom: All of them muſt have a Dependance, either on mutual Compact,

Compact, or the Force of the Strong, exerting itſelf upon the Patience of the Weak. The Difference between the Works of Art, and thoſe of Nature, is ſo immenſe, that it is impoſſible not to know them aſunder. Knowing, *à priori*, belongs to God only, and Divine Wiſdom acts with an original Certainty, of which, what we call Demonſtration, is but an imperfect, borrow'd Copy. Amongſt the Works of Nature, therefore, we ſee no Tryals nor Eſſays; they are all compleat, and ſuch as ſhe would have them, at the firſt Production; and, where ſhe has not been interrupted, highly finiſh'd, beyond the Reach of our Underſtanding, as well as Senſes. Wretched Man, on the contrary, is ſure of nothing, his own Exiſtence not excepted, but from reaſoning *à poſteriori*. The Conſequence of this is, that the Works of Art and human Invention are all very lame and defective, and moſt of them pitifully mean at firſt: Our Knowledge is advanced by ſlow Degrees, and ſome Arts and Sciences require the Experience of many Ages, before they can be brought to any tolerable Perfection. Have we any Reaſon to imagine, that the Society of Bees, that ſent forth the firſt Swarm, made worſe Wax or Honey than any of their Poſterity have produced ſince? And again, the Laws of Nature are fix'd and unalterable: In all her Orders and Regulations there is a Stability,

lity, no where to be met with in Things of human Contrivance and Approbation;

Quid placet aut odio eſt, quod non mutabile credas?

Is it probable, that amongſt the Bees, there has ever been any other Form of Government, than what every Swarm ſubmits to now? What an infinite Variety of Speculations, what ridiculous Schemes have not been propoſed amongſt Men, on the Subject of Government; what Diſſentions in Opinion, and what fatal Quarrels has it not been the Occaſion of! And, which is the beſt Form of it, is a Queſtion to this Day undecided. The Projects, good and bad, that have been ſtated for the Benefit, and more happy Eſtabliſhment of Society, are innumerable; but how ſhort-ſighted is our Sagacity, how fallible human Judgment! What has ſeem'd highly advantageous to Mankind in one Age, has often been found, to be evidently detrimental by the ſucceeding; and even among Contemporaries, what is rever'd in one Country, is the Abomination of another. What Changes have ever Bees made in their Furniture or Architecture? Have they ever made Cells that were not Sexangular, or added any Tools to thoſe which Nature furniſh'd them with at the Beginning? What mighty Structures have been rais'd, what prodigious Works have been perform'd

form'd by the great Nations of the World! Toward all theſe Nature has only found Materials; the Quarry yields Marble, but it is the Sculptor that makes a Statue of it. To have the infinite Variety of Iron Tools that have been invented, Nature has given us nothing but the Oar, which ſhe has hid in the Bowels of the Earth.

Hor. But the Capacity of the Workmen, the Inventors of Arts, and thoſe that improved them, has had a great Share in bringing thoſe Labours to Perfection; and their Genius they had from Nature.

Cleo. So far as it depended upon the Make of their Frame, the Accuracy of the Machine, they had, and no further; but this I have allow'd already; and if you remember what I have ſaid on this Head, you will find, that the Part, which Nature contributed toward the Skill and Patience of every ſingle Perſon, that had a Hand in thoſe Works, was very inconſiderable.

Hor. If I have not miſunderſtood you, you would inſinuate two Things: Firſt, that the Fitneſs of Man for Society, beyond other Animals, is ſomething real; but that it is hardly perceptible in Individuals, before great Numbers of them are joyn'd together, and artfully manag'd. Secondly, that this real Something, this Sociableneſs, is a Compound, that conſiſts in a Concurrence of ſeveral Things, and not in any one palpable Quality,

lity, that Man is endued with, and Brutes are deſtitute of.

Cleo. You are perfectly right: Every Grape contains a ſmall Quantity of Juice, and when great Heaps of them are ſqueez'd together, they yield a Liquor, which by skillful Management may be made into Wine: But, if we conſider, how neceſſary Fermentation is to the Vinoſity of the Liquor, I mean, how eſſential it is to its being Wine; it will be evident to us, that without great Impropriety of Speech, it cannot be ſaid, that in every Grape there is Wine.

Hor. Vinoſity, ſo far as it is the Effect of Fermentation, is adventitious; and what none of the Grapes could ever have receiv'd, whilſt they remain'd ſingle; and therefore, if you would compare the Sociableneſs of Man to the Vinoſity of Wine, you muſt ſhew me, that in Society there is an Equivalent for Fermentation; I mean, ſomething that individual Perſons are not actually poſſeſs'd of, whilſt they remain ſingle, and which, likewiſe, is palpably adventitious to Multitudes, when joyn'd together; in the ſame manner as Fermentation is to the Juice of Grapes, and as neceſſary and eſſential to the compleating of Society, as that is, that ſame Fermentation, to procure the Vinoſity of Wine.

Cleo. Such an Equivalent is demonſtrable in mutual Commerce: for if we examine every Faculty and Qualification, from and for which

we judge and pronounce Man to be a ſociable Creature beyond other Animals, we ſhall find, that a very conſiderable, if not the greateſt Part of the Attribute is acquired, and comes upon Multitudes, from their converſing with one another. *Fabricando fabri ſimus.* Men become ſociable, by living together in Society. Natural Affection prompts all Mothers to take Care of the Off-ſpring they dare own; ſo far as to feed and keep them from Harm, whilſt they are helpleſs: but where People are poor, and the Women have no Leiſure to indulge themſelves in the various Expreſſions of their Fondneſs for their Infants, which fondling of them ever encreaſes, they are often very remiſs in tending and playing with them; and the more healthy and quiet ſuch Children are, the more they are neglected. This want of pratling to, and ſtirring up the Spirits in Babes, is often the principal Cauſe of an invincible Stupidity, as well as Ignorance, when they are grown up; and we often aſcribe to natural Incapacity, what is altogether owing to the Neglect of this early Inſtruction. We have ſo few Examples of human Creatures, that never convers'd with their own Species, that it is hard to gueſs, what Man would be, entirely untaught; but we have good Reaſon to believe, that the Faculty of Thinking would be very imperfect in ſuch a one, if we conſider; that the greateſt Docility can be of no

uſe to a Creature, whilſt it has nothing to imitate, nor any body to teach.

Hor. Philoſophers therefore are very wiſely employ'd, when they diſcourſe about the Laws of Nature; and pretend to determine, what a Man in the State of Nature would think, and which way he would reaſon, concerning himſelf and the Creation, uninſtructed.

Cleo. Thinking, and Reaſoning juſtly, as *Mr. Lock* has rightly obſerved, require Time and Practice. Thoſe that have not uſed themſelves to thinking, but juſt on their preſent Neceſſities, make poor Work of it, when they try beyond that. In remote Parts, and ſuch as are leaſt inhabited, we ſhall find our Species come nearer the State of Nature, than it does in and near great Cities and conſiderable Towns, even in the moſt civiliz'd Nations. Among the moſt ignorant of ſuch People, you may learn the Truth of my Aſſertion; talk to them about any thing, that requires abſtract Thinking, and there is not one in Fifty that will underſtand you, any more than a Horſe would; and yet many of them are uſeful Labourers, and cunning enough to tell Lies, and deceive. Man is a rational Creature, but he is not endued with Reaſon when he comes into the World; nor can he afterwards put it on when he pleaſes, at once, as he may a Garment. Speech likewiſe is a Characteriſtick of our Species, but no Man is born with it;

and

and a dozen Generations proceeding from two Savages would not produce any tolerable Language; nor have we reaſon to believe, that a Man could be taught to ſpeak after Five and Twenty, if he had never heard others before that time.

Hor. The Neceſſity of teaching, whilſt the Organs are ſupple, and eaſily yield to Impreſſion, which you have ſpoke of before, I believe is of great Weight, both in Speaking and Thinking: but could a Dog, or a Monkey, ever be taught to ſpeak?

Cleo. I believe not; but I don't think, that Creatures of another Species had ever the Pains beſtow'd upon them, that ſome Children have, before they can pronounce one Word. Another thing to be conſider'd is, that tho' ſome Animals perhaps live longer than we do, there is no Species that remains young ſo long as ours; and beſides what we owe to the ſuperior Aptitude to learn, which we have from the great Accuracy of our Frame and inward Structure, we are not a little indebted for our Docility, to the Slowneſs and long Gradation of our Encreaſe, before we are full grown: the Organs in other Creatures grow ſtiff, before ours are come to half their Perfection.

Hor. So that in the Compliment we make to our Species, of its being endued with Speech and Sociableneſs, there is no other Reality; than that by Care and Induſtry Men may be taught

to ſpeak, and be made ſociable, if the Diſcipline begins when they are are very young.

Cleo. Not otherwiſe. A thouſand of our Species all grown up, that is above Five and Twenty, could never be made ſociable, if they had been brought up wild, and were all Strangers to one another.

Hor. I believe they could not be civiliſ'd, if their Education began ſo late.

Cleo. But I mean barely ſociable, as it is the Epithet peculiar to Man; that is, it would be impoſſible by Art to govern them, any more than ſo many wild Horſes, unleſs you had two or three times that Number to watch and keep them in awe. Therefore it is highly probable, that moſt Societies, and Beginnings of Nations, were form'd in the Manner Sir *William Temple* ſuppoſes it; but nothing near ſo faſt: and I wonder how a Man of his unqueſtionable good Senſe could form an Idea of Juſtice, Prudence, and Wiſdom, in an untaught Creature; or think of a civiliſ'd Man, before there was any Civil Society, and even before Men had commenc'd to aſſociate.

Hor. I have read it, I am ſure, but I don't remember what it is you mean.

Cleo. He is juſt behind you: the third Shelf from the Bottom; the firſt Volume: pray reach it me, it is worth your hearing.— It is in his Eſſay on Government. Here it is. *For if we conſider Man, multiplying his Kind by the Birth*

Birth of many Children, and his Cares by providing even neceſſary Food for them, 'till they are able to do it for themſelves (which happens much later to the Generations of Men, and makes a much longer Dependence of Children upon Parents, than we can obſerve among any other Creatures;) if we conſider, not only the Cares, but the Induſtry he is forc'd to, for the neceſſary Suſtenance of his helpleſs Brood, either in gathering the natural Fruits, or raiſing thoſe which are purchas'd with Labour and Toil: if he be forced for Supply of this Stock, to catch the tamer Creatures, and hunt the wilder, ſometimes to exerciſe his Courage in defending his little Family, and fighting with the ſtrong and ſavage Beaſts, (that would prey upon him, as he does upon the weak and the mild:) if we ſuppoſe him diſpoſing with Diſcretion and Order, whatever he gets among his Children, according to each of their Hunger or Need; ſometimes laying up for to-morrow, what was more than enough for to-day; at other times pinching himſelf, rather than ſuffering any of them ſhould want.——

Hor. This Man is no Savage, or untaught Creature; he is fit to be a Juſtice of Peace.

Cleo. Pray let me go on, I ſhall only read this Paragraph: *and as each of them grows up, and able to ſhare in the common Support, teaching them, both by Leſſon and Example, what he is now to do, as the Son of his Family, and what hereafter, as the Father of another; inſtructing them all, what Qualities are good, and what are*

ill, for their Health and Life, or common Society (which will certainly comprehend whatever is generally eſteem'd Virtue or Vice among Men) cheriſhing and encouraging Diſpoſitions to the good, diſfavouring and puniſhing thoſe to the ill: And laſtly, among the various Accidents of Life, lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, when the Earth affords him no Relief; and having Recourſe to a higher and a greater Nature, whenever he finds the Frailty of his own: we muſt needs conclude, that the Children of this Man cannot fail of being bred up with a great Opinion of his Wiſdom, his Goodneſs, his Valour, and his Piety. And if they ſee conſtant Plenty in the Family, they believe well of his Fortune too.

Hor. Did this Man ſpring out of the Earth, I wonder, or did he drop from the Sky?

Cleo. There is no manner of Abſurdity in ſuppoſing——

Hor. The Diſcuſſion of this would too far engage us: I am ſure, I have tired you already with my Impertinence.

Cleo. You have pleas'd me extremely: the Queſtions you have ask'd, have all been very pertinent, and ſuch as every Man of Senſe would make, that had not made it his Buſineſs to think on theſe Things. I read that Paſſage on purpoſe to you, to make ſome uſe of it; but if you are weary of the Subject, I will not treſpaſs upon your Patience any longer.

Hor. You miſtake me; I begin to be fond of the Subject: but before we talk of it any further,

further, I have a mind to run over that Eſſay again; it is a great while ſince I read it, and after that I ſhall be glad to reſume the Diſcourſe; the ſooner the better. I know you are a Lover of fine Fruit, if you'll dine with me to-morrow, I'll give you an *Ananas*.

Cleo. I love your Company ſo well, that I can refuſe no Opportunity of enjoying it.

Hor. *A Revoir* then.

Cleo. Your Servant.

THE FIFTH DIALOGUE BETWEEN *Horatio* and *Cleomenes.*

CLEOMENES.

IT excells every thing; it is extremely rich without being luſcious, and I know nothing, to which I can compare the Taſte of it: to me it ſeems to be a Collection of different fine Flavours, that puts me in mind of ſeveral delicious Fruits, which yet are all outdone by it.

Hor. I am glad it pleas'd you.

Cleo. The Scent of it likewiſe is wonderfully reviving. As you was paring it, a Fragrancy I thought perfum'd the Room that was perfectly Cordial.

Hor. The Inſide of the Rind has an Oylineſs of no diſagreeable Smell, that upon handling of it ſticks to ones Fingers for a conſiderable

able time; for tho' now I have waſh'd and wiped my Hands, the Flavour of it will not be entirely gone from them by to-morrow Morning.

Cleo. This was the third I ever taſted, of our own Growth: the Production of them in theſe Northern Climates, is no ſmall Inſtance of human Induſtry, and our Improvements in Gard'ning. It is very elegant to enjoy the wholſome Air of temperate Regions, and at the ſame time be able to raiſe Fruit to its higheſt Maturity, that naturally requires the Sun of the Torrid Zone.

Hor. It is eaſy enough to procure Heat, but the great Art conſiſts in finding out, and regulating the Degrees of it at pleaſure; without which it would be impoſſible to ripen an *Ananas* here; and to compaſs this with that Exactneſs, as it is done by the Help of *Thermometers*, was certainly a fine Invention.——

Cleo. I don't care to drink any more.

Hor. Juſt as you pleaſe: otherwiſe I was going to name a Health, which would not have come *mal a propos.*

Cleo. Whoſe is that, pray?

Hor. I was thinking on the Man, to whom we are in a great meaſure obliged for the Production and Culture of the *Exotick*, we were ſpeaking of, in this Kingdom; Sir *Matthew Decker:* the firſt *Ananas*, or Pine-apple, that was brought to Perfection in *England*, grew in his Garden at *Richmond.*

Cleo.

Cleo. With all my Heart; let us finiſh with that; he is a Beneficent, and, I believe, a very honeſt Man.

Hor. It would not be eaſy to name another, who with the ſame Knowledge of the World, and Capacity of getting Money, is equally diſintereſted and inoffenſive. ——

Cleo. Have you conſider'd the Things we diſcourſed of Yeſterday?

Hor. I have thought on nothing elſe, ſince I ſaw you: This Morning I went through the whole Eſſay, and with more Attention than I did formerly: I like it very well; only that Paſſage which you read Yeſterday, and ſome others to the ſame Purpoſe, I cannot reconcile with the Account we have of Man's Origin from the Bible: Since all are Deſcendants of *Adam*, and conſequently of *Noah* and his Poſterity: how came Savages into the World?

Cleo. The Hiſtory of the World, as to very ancient Times, is very imperfect: What Devaſtations have been made by War, by Peſtilence, and by Famine; what Diſtreſs ſome Men have been drove to, and how ſtrangely our Race has been diſpers'd and ſcatter'd over the Earth, ſince the Flood, we don't know.

Hor. But Perſons that are well inſtructed themſelves, never fail of teaching their Children; and we have no Reaſon to think, that knowing, civiliz'd Men, as the Sons of *Noah* were, ſhould have neglected their Offſpring; but it is altogether incredible, as all are Deſcendants

ſcendants from them, that ſucceeding Generations, inſtead of encreaſing in Experience, and Wiſdom, ſhould learn backward, and ſtill more and more abandon their Broods, in ſuch a manner, as to degenerate at laſt to what you call the State of Nature.

Cleo. Whether you intend this as a *Sarcaſm* or not, I don't know; but you have rais'd no Difficulty that can render the Truth of the ſacred Hiſtory ſuſpected. Holy Writ has acquainted us with the miraculous Origin of our Species, and the ſmall Remainder of it after the Deluge: But it is far from informing us of all the Revolutions, that have happen'd among Mankind ſince: The Old Teſtament hardly touches upon any Particulars, that had no Relation to the *Jews*; neither does *Moſes* pretend to give a full Account of every thing that happen'd to, or was tranſacted by, our firſt Parents: He names none of *Adam*'s Daughters, and takes no Notice of ſeveral Things, that muſt have happen'd in the Beginning of the World; as is evident from *Cain*'s building a City, and ſeveral other Circumſtances; from which it is plain, that *Moſes* meddled with nothing but what was material, and to his Purpoſe; which in that part of his Hiſtory was to trace the Deſcent of the Patriarchs, from the firſt Man. But that there are Savages, is certain: Moſt Nations of *Europe* have met with wild Men and Women in ſeveral Parts of the World, that were ignorant of

of the uſe of Letters, and among whom they could obſerve no Rule or Government.

Hor. That there are Savages, I don't queſtion; and from the great Number of Slaves, that are yearly fetch'd from *Africa*, it is manifeſt, that in ſome Parts there muſt be vaſt Swarms of People, that have not yet made a great hand of their Sociableneſs: But how to derive them all from the Sons of *Noah*, I own, is paſt my Skill.

Cleo. You'll find it as difficult to account for the loſs of the many fine Arts, and uſeful Inventions of the Ancients, which the World has certainly ſuſtain'd. But the Fault I find with Sir *William Temple*, is in the Character of his Savage. Juſt Reaſoning, and ſuch an orderly way of proceeding, as he makes him act in, are unnatural to a wild Man: In ſuch a one, the Paſſions muſt be boiſterous, and continually joſtling and ſucceeding one another; no untaught Man could have a regular way of thinking, or purſue any one Deſign with Steadineſs.

Hor. You have ſtrange Notions of our Species: But has not a Man, by the time that he comes to Maturity, ſome Notions of Right and Wrong, that are natural?

Cleo. Before I anſwer your Queſtion, I would have you conſider, that among Savages, there muſt be always a great difference, as to the Wildneſs or Tameneſs of them. All Creatures naturally love their Offspring, whilſt they

they are helpleſs, and ſo does Man: But in the Savage State Men are more liable to Accidents and Misfortunes, than they are in Society, as to the rearing of their young ones; and therefore the Children of Savages muſt very often be put to their Shifts, ſo as hardly to remember, by the time that they are grown up, that they had any Parents. If this happens too early, and they are dropt or loſt, before they are four or five Years of Age, they muſt periſh; either die for want, or be devour'd by Beaſts of Prey, unleſs ſome other Creature takes care of them. Thoſe Orphans that ſurvive, and become their own Maſters very young, muſt, when they are come to Maturity, be much wilder than others, that have lived many Years under the Tuition of Parents.

Hor. But would not the wildeſt Man, you can imagine, have from Nature ſome Thoughts of Juſtice and Injuſtice?

Cleo. Such a one, I believe, would naturally, without much Thinking in the Caſe, take every thing to be his own, that he could lay his Hands on.

Hor. Then they would ſoon be undeceiv'd, if two or three of them met together.

Cleo. That they would ſoon diſagree and quarrel, is highly probable; but I don't believe, they ever would be undeceiv'd.

Hor. At this Rate, Men could never be form'd into an aggregate Body: How came Society into the World?

Cleo.

Cleo. As I told you, from private Families; but not without great Difficulty, and the Concurrence of many favourable Accidents; and many Generations may paſs, before there is any Likelihood of their being form'd into a Society.

Hor. That Men are form'd into Societies, we ſee: But if they are all born with that falſe Notion, and they can never be undeceiv'd, which way do you account for it?

Cleo. My Opinion concerning this Matter, is this. Self-preſervation bids all Creatures gratify their Appetites, and that of propagating his Kind never fails to affect a Man in Health, many Years before he comes to his full Growth. If a wild Man and a wild Woman ſhould meet very young, and live together for fifty Years undiſturb'd, in a mild wholeſome Climate, where there is plenty of Proviſions, they might ſee a prodigious Number of Deſcendants: For in the wild State of Nature, Man multiplies his Kind much faſter, than can be allow'd of in any regular Society: No Male at fourteen would be long without a Female, if he could get one; and no Female of Twelve would be refractory, if applied to; or remain long uncourted, if there were Men.

Hor. Conſidering, that Conſanguinity would be no Bar among theſe People, the Progeny of two Savages might ſoon amount to Hundreds: All this I can grant you; but as Parents,

rents, no better qualify'd, could teach their Children but little, it would be impoſſible for them to govern theſe Sons and Daughters, when they grew up; if none of them had any Notions of Right or Wrong: and Society is as far off as ever; the falſe Principle, which you ſay all Men are born with, is an Obſtacle never to be ſurmounted.

Cleo. From that falſe Principle, as you call it, the Right, Men naturally claim to every thing they can get, it muſt follow, that Man will look upon his Children as his Property, and make ſuch uſe of them as is moſt conſiſtent with his Intereſt.

Hor. What is the Intereſt of a wild Man, that purſues nothing with Steadineſs?

Cleo. The Demand of the predominant Paſſion, for the time it laſts.

Hor. That may change every Moment, and ſuch Children would be miſerably managed.

Cleo. That's true; but ſtill managed they would be; I mean, they would be kept under, and forc'd to do as they were bid, at leaſt till they were ſtrong enough to reſiſt. Natural Affection would prompt a wild Man to love, and cheriſh his Child; it would make him provide Food and other Neceſſaries for his Son, till he was ten or twelve Years old, or perhaps longer: But this Affection is not the only Paſſion, he has to gratify; if his Son provokes him by Stubborneſs, or doing otherwiſe than he would have him, this Love is

ſuſpended; and if his Diſpleaſure be ſtrong enough to raiſe his Anger, which is as natural to him as any other Paſſion, it is ten to one, but he'll knock him down: If he hurts him very much, and the Condition, he has put his Son in, moves his Pity, his Anger will ceaſe; and, natural Affection returning, he'll fondle him again, and be ſorry for what he has done. Now if we conſider, that all Creatures hate and endeavour to avoid Pain, and that Benefits beget Love in all that receive them, we ſhall find, that the Conſequence of this Management would be; that the Savage Child would learn to love and fear his Father: Theſe two Paſſions, together with the Eſteem, which we naturally have for every thing that far excels us, will ſeldom fail of producing that Compound, which we call Reverence.

Hor. I have it now; you have open'd my Eyes, and I ſee the Origin of Society, as plain as I do that Table.

Cleo. I am afraid the Proſpect is not ſo clear yet, as you imagine.

Hor. Why ſo? The grand Obſtacles are remov'd: Untaught Men, it is true, when they are grown up, are never to be govern'd; and our Subjection is never ſincere, where the Superiority of the Governour is not very apparent: But both theſe are obviated; the Reverence we have for a Perſon, when we are young, is eaſily continued as long as we live; and where Authority is once acknowledg'd,

and that Acknowledgment well eſtabliſh'd, it cannot be a difficult Matter to govern. If thus a Man may keep up his Authority over his Children, he'll do it ſtill with greater Eaſe over his Grand-Children: For a Child, that has the leaſt Reverence for his Parents, will ſeldom refuſe Homage to the Perſon, to whom he ſees his Father pay it. Beſides, a Man's Pride would be a ſufficient Motive for him to maintain the Authority once gain'd; and, if ſome of his Progeny proved Refractory, he would leave no Stone unturn'd, by the help of the reſt to reduce the Diſobedient. The old Man being dead, the Authority from him would devolve upon the eldeſt of his Children, and ſo on.

Cleo. I thought you would go on too faſt. If the wild Man had underſtood the Nature of Things, and been endued with general Knowledge, and a Language ready made, as *Adam* was by Miracle, what you ſay, might have been eaſy; but an ignorant Creature, that knows nothing, but what his own Experience has taught him, is no more fit to govern, than he is fit to teach the Mathematicks.

Hor. He would not have above one or two Children to govern at firſt, and his Experience would encreaſe by degrees, as well as his Family: This would require no ſuch conſummate Knowledge.

Cleo. I don't ſay it would: An ordinary Capacity, of a Man tollerably well educated,

would be ſufficient to begin with; but a Man who never had been taught to curb any of his Paſſions, would be very unfit for ſuch a Task. He would make his Children, as ſoon as they were able, aſſiſt him in getting Food, and teach them, how and where to procure it. Savage Children, as they got Strength, would endeavour to imitate every Action they ſaw their Parents do, and every Sound they heard them make; but all the Inſtructions they receiv'd would be confin'd to Things immediately neceſſary. Savage Parents would often take Offence at their Children, as they grew up, without a Cauſe; and as theſe encreas'd in Years, ſo natural Affection would decreaſe in the other. The Conſequence would be, that the Children would often ſuffer for Failings that were not their own. Savages would often diſcover Faults in the Conduct of what was paſt; but they would not be able to eſtabliſh Rules for future Behaviour, which they would approve of themſelves for any Continuance; and Want of Foreſight would be an inexhauſtible Fund for Changes in their Reſolutions. The Savage's Wife, as well as himſelf, would be highly pleas'd to ſee their Daughters impregnated, and bring forth; and they would both take great Delight in their Grand-Children.

Hor. I thought, that in all Creatures the natural Affection of Parents had been confin'd to their own young ones.

Cleo.

Cleo. It is ſo in all but Man; there is no Species but ours, that are ſo conceited of themſelves, as to imagine every thing to be theirs. The Deſire of Dominion is a never-failing Conſequence of the Pride, that is common to all Men; and which the Brat of a Savage is as much born with, as the Son of an Emperour. This good Opinion, we have of ourſelves, makes Men not only claim a Right to their Children, but likewiſe imagine, that they have a great Share of Juriſdiction over their Grand-Children. The young ones of other Animals, as ſoon as they can help themſelves, are free; but the Authority, which Parents pretend to have over their Children, never ceaſes: How general and unreaſonable this eternal Claim is naturally in the Heart of Man, we may learn from the Laws; which, to prevent the Uſurpation of Parents, and reſcue Children from their Dominion, every civil Society is forc'd to make; limiting paternal Authority to a certain Term of Years. Our Savage Pair would have a double Title to their Grand-Children, from their undoubted Property in each Parent of them; and all the Progeny being ſprung from their own Sons and Daughters, without Intermixture of Foreign Blood, they would look upon the whole Race to be their natural Vaſſals; and I am perſuaded, that the more Knowledge and Capacity of reaſoning this firſt Couple acquired, the more juſt and

unqueſtionable their Sovereignty over all their Deſcendants would appear to them, tho' they ſhould live to ſee the fifth or ſixth Generation.

Hor. Is it not ſtrange, that Nature ſhould ſend us all into the World with a viſible Deſire after Government, and no Capacity for it at all?

Cleo. What ſeems ſtrange to you, is an undeniable Inſtance of Divine Wiſdom: For if all had not been born with this Deſire, all muſt have been deſtitute of it; and Multitudes could never have been form'd into Societies, if ſome of them had not been poſſeſſed of this Thirſt of Dominion. Creatures may commit Force upon themſelves, they may learn to warp their natural Appetites, and divert them from their proper Objects; but peculiar Inſtincts, that belong to a whole Species, are never to be acquir'd by Art or Diſcipline; and thoſe that are born without them, muſt remain deſtitute of them for ever. Ducks run to the Water, as ſoon as they are hatch'd, but you can never make a Chicken ſwim, any more than you can teach it to ſuck.

Hor. I underſtand you very well. If Pride had not been innate to all Men, none of them could ever have been ambitious: And as to the Capacity of Governing, Experience ſhews us, that it is to be acquired; but how to bring Society into the World, I know no more than the wild Man himſelf. What you have

have ſuggeſted to me, of his Unskilfulneſs, and want of Power to govern himſelf, has quite deſtroy'd all the Hopes I had conceiv'd of Society, from this Family. But would Religion have no Influence upon them? Pray, how came that into the World?

Cleo. From God, by Miracle.

Hor. Obſcurum per obſcuriùs. I don't underſtand Miracles, that break in upon, and ſubvert the Order of Nature; and I have no Notion of Things that come to paſs, *en depît de bon ſens*, and are ſuch; that judging from ſound Reaſon and known Experience, all wiſe Men would think themſelves mathematically ſure, that they could never happen.

Cleo. It is certain, that by the Word Miracle, is meant, an Interpoſition of the Divine Power, when it deviates from the common Courſe of Nature.

Hor. As when Matters, eaſily combuſtible, remain whole and untouch'd, in the Midſt of a Fire, fiercely burning; or Lions in Vigour, induſtriouſly kept hungry, forbear eating what they are moſt greedy after. Theſe Miracles are ſtrange Things.

Cleo. They are not pretended to be otherwiſe; the Etymology of the Word imports it; but it is almoſt as unaccountable, that Men ſhould disbelieve them, and pretend to be of a Religion, that is altogether built upon Miracles.

Hor. But when I ask'd you that general Queſtion, why did you confine yourſelf to reveal'd Religion?

Cleo. Becauſe nothing, in my Opinion, deſerves the Name of Religion, that has not been reveal'd: The Jewiſh was the firſt that was national, and the Chriſtian the next.

Hor. But *Abraham*, *Noah*, and *Adam* himſelf were no *Jews*, and yet they had Religion.

Cleo. No other, than what was reveal'd to them. God appear'd to our firſt Parents, and gave them Commands, immediately after he had created them: The ſame Intercourſe was continued between the Supream Being and the Patriarchs; but the Father of *Abraham* was an Idolater.

Hor. But the *Ægyptians*, the *Greeks*, and the *Romans* had Religion, as well as the *Jews*.

Cleo. Their groſs Idolatry, and abominable Worſhip, I call Superſtition.

Hor. You may be as partial as you pleaſe, but they all call'd their Worſhip Religion, as well as we do ours. You ſay, Man brings nothing with him, but his Paſſions; and when I ask'd you, how Religion came into the World, I meant, what is there in Man's Nature, that is not acquired, from which he has a Tendency to Religion; what is it, that diſpoſes him to it?

Cleo. Fear.

Hor.

Hor. How! *Primus in orbe Deos fecit Timor:* Are you of that Opinion?

Cleo. No Man upon Earth leſs: But that noted *Epicurean* Axiom, which irreligious Men are ſo fond of, is a very poor one; and it is ſilly, as well as impious, to ſay, that Fear made a God; you may as juſtly ſay, that Fear made Graſs, or the Sun and the Moon: But when I am ſpeaking of Savages, it is not claſhing, either with good Senſe, nor the Chriſtian Religion, to aſſert; that, whilſt ſuch Men are ignorant of the true Deity, and yet very defective in the Art of Thinking and Reaſoning, Fear is the Paſſion, that firſt gives them an Opportunity of entertaining ſome glimmering Notions of an inviſible Power; which afterwards, as by Practice and Experience they grow greater Proficients, and become more perfect in the Labour of the Brain, and the Exerciſe of their higheſt Faculty, will infallibly lead them to the certain Knowledge of an infinite and eternal Being; whoſe Power and Wiſdom will always appear the greater, and more ſtupendious to them, the more they themſelves advance in Knowledge and Penetration; though both ſhould be carried on to a much higher Pitch, than it is poſſible for our limited Nature ever to arrive at.

Hor. I beg your Pardon for ſuſpecting you; though I am glad it gave you an Opportunity of explaining yourſelf. The Word *Fear*, without

without any Addition, ſounded very harſh; and even now I cannot conceive, how an inviſible Cauſe ſhould become the Object of a Man's Fear, that ſhould be ſo entirely untaught, as you have made the firſt Savage: Which Way can any thing inviſible, and that affects none of the Senſes, make an Impreſſion upon a wild Creature?

Cleo. Every Miſchief and every Diſaſter that happens to him, of which the Cauſe is not very plain and obvious; exceſſive Heat and Cold; Wet and Drought, that are offenſive; Thunder and Lightning, even when they do no viſible Hurt; Noiſes in the dark, Obſcurity itſelf, and every thing that is frightful and unknown, are all adminiſtring and contributing to the Eſtabliſhment of this Fear. The wildeſt Man, that can be conceiv'd, by the time that he came to Maturity, would be wiſe enough to know, that Fruits and other Eatables are not to be had, either always, or every where: This would naturally put him upon hoarding, when he had good Store: His Proviſion might be ſpoil'd by the Rain; he would ſee that Trees were blaſted, and yielded not always the ſame Plenty: He might not always be in Health, or his young ones might grow ſick, and die, without any Wounds or external Force to be ſeen. Some of theſe Accidents might at firſt eſcape his Attention, or only alarm his weak Underſtanding, without occaſioning much Reflecti-

on

on for ſome Time; but as they came often, he would certainly begin to ſuſpect ſome inviſible Cauſe; and, as his Experience encreaſed, be confirm'd in his Suſpicion. It is likewiſe highly probable, that a Variety of different Sufferings, would make him apprehend ſeveral ſuch Cauſes; and at laſt induce him to believe, that there was a great Number of them, which he had to fear. What would very much contribute to this credulous Diſpoſition, and naturally lead him into ſuch a Belief, is a falſe Notion, we imbibe very early, and which we may obſerve in Infants, as ſoon as by their Looks, their Geſtures, and the Signs they make, they begin to be intelligible to us.

Hor. What is that, pray?

Cleo. All young Children ſeem to imagine, that every thing thinks and feels in the ſame Manner as they do themſelves: And, that they generally have this wrong Opinion of Things inanimate, is evident, from a common Practice among them; whenever they labour under any Misfortune, which their own Wildneſs, and want of Care have drawn upon them. In all ſuch Caſes, you ſee them angry at and ſtrike, a Table, a Chair, the Floor, or any thing elſe, that can ſeem to have been acceſſary to their hurting themſelves, or the Production of any other Blunder, they have committed. Nurſes, we ſee, in Compliance to their Frailty, ſeem to entertain

tertain the ſame ridiculous Sentiments; and actually appeaſe wrathful Brats, by pretending to take their Part: Thus you'll often ſee them very ſerious, in ſcolding at and beating, either the real Object of the Baby's Indignation, or ſomething elſe, on which the Blame of what has happen'd, may be thrown, with any Shew of Probability. It is not to be imagin'd, that this natural Folly ſhould be ſo eaſily cured in a Child, that is deſtitute of all Inſtruction and Commerce with his own Species, as it is in thoſe, that are brought up in Society, and hourly improv'd by converſing with others, that are wiſer than themſelves; and I am perſuaded, that a wild Man would never get entirely rid of it, whilſt he lived.

Hor. I cannot think ſo meanly of human Underſtanding.

Cleo. Whence came the *Dryades* and *Hama-Dryades?* how came it ever to be thought impious, to cut down, or even to wound, large venerable Oaks, or other ſtately Trees; and what Root did the Divinity ſpring from, which the Vulgar, among the ancient Heathens, apprehended to be in Rivers and Fountains?

Hor. From the Roguery of deſigning Prieſts, and other Impoſtors, that invented thoſe Lies, and made Fables for their own Advantage.

Cleo. But ſtill it muſt have been want of Underſtanding; and a Tincture, ſome Remainder

mainder of that Folly, which is diſcover'd in young Children, that could induce, or would ſuffer Men to believe thoſe Fables. Unleſs Fools actually had Frailties, Knaves could not make Uſe of them.

Hor. There may be ſomething in it; but, be that as it will, you have own'd, that Man naturally loves thoſe he receives Benefits from; therefore, how comes it; that Man, finding all the good Things he enjoys, to proceed from an inviſible Cauſe, his Gratitude ſhould not ſooner prompt him to be religious, than his Fear?

Cleo. There are ſeveral ſubſtantial Reaſons, why it does not. Man takes every thing to be his own, which he has from Nature: Sowing and Reaping, he thinks, deſerve a Crop, and whatever he has the leaſt Hand in, is always reckon'd to be his. Every Art, and every Invention, as ſoon as we know them, are our Right and Property; and whatever we perform by the Aſſiſtance of them, is, by the Courteſy of the Species to itſelf, deem'd to be our own. We make Uſe of Fermentation, and all the Chymiſtry of Nature, without thinking ourſelves beholden to any thing, but our own Knowledge. She that churns the Cream, makes the Butter; without enquiring into the Power, by which the thin lymphatick Particles are forced to ſeparate themſelves, and ſlide away from the more unctious. In brewing, baking, cooking, and almoſt

almoſt every thing we have a Hand in, Nature is the Drudge, that makes all the Alterations, and does the principal Work; yet all, forſooth, is our own. From all which it is manifeſt; that Man, who is naturally for making every thing centre in himſelf, muſt, in his wild State, have a great Tendency, and be very prone to look upon every thing, he enjoys, as his due; and every thing he meddles with, as his own Performance. It requires Knowledge and Reflection; and a Man muſt be pretty far advanced in the Art of thinking juſtly, and reaſoning conſequentially, before he can, from his own Light, and without being taught, be ſenſible of his Obligations to God. The leſs a Man knows, and the more ſhallow his Underſtanding is, the leſs he is capable, either of enlarging his Proſpect of Things, or drawing Conſequences from the little which he does know. Raw, ignorant, and untaught Men, fix their Eyes on what is immediately before, and ſeldom look further than, as it is vulgarly expreſs'd, the length of their Noſes. The wild Man, if Gratitude moved him, would much ſooner pay his Reſpects to the Tree, he gathers his Nuts from, than he would think of an Acknowledgment to him who had planted it; and there is no Property ſo well eſtabliſh'd, but a civiliz'd Man would ſuſpect his Title to it ſooner, than a wild one would queſtion the Sovereignty he has over his own Breath.

Another

Another Reaſon, why Fear is an elder Motive to Religion, than Gratitude, is, that an untaught Man would never ſuſpect; that the ſame Cauſe, which he receiv'd Good from, would ever do him Hurt; and Evil, without doubt, would always gain his Attention firſt.

Hor. Men, indeed, ſeem to remember one ill Turn, that is ſerv'd them, better than ten good ones; one Month's Sickneſs, better than ten Years Health.

Cleo. In all the Labours of Self-preſervation, Man is intent on avoiding what is hurtful to him; but in the Enjoyment of what is pleaſant, his Thoughts are relax'd, and he is void of Care: he can ſwallow a thouſand Delights, one after another, without asking Queſtions; but the leaſt Evil makes him inquiſitive, whence it came, in order to ſhun it. It is very material, therefore, to know the Cauſe of Evil; but to know that of Good, which is always welcome, is of little Uſe; that is, ſuch a Knowledge ſeems not to promiſe any Addition to his Happineſs. When a Man once apprehends ſuch an inviſible Enemy, it is reaſonable to think, that he would be glad to appeaſe, and make him his Friend, if he could find him out; it is highly probable, likewiſe, that in order to this, he would ſearch, inveſtigate, and look every where about him; and that finding all his Enquiries upon Earth in vain, he would lift up his Eyes to the Sky.

Hor.

Hor. And ſo a wild Man might; and look down and up again, long enough, before he would be the wiſer. I can eaſily conceive, that a Creature muſt labour under great Perplexities, when it actually fears ſomething, of which it knows, neither what is it, nor where it is; and that, though a Man had all the Reaſon in the World to think it inviſible, he would ſtill be more afraid of it in the Dark, than when he could ſee.

Cleo. Whilſt a Man is but an imperfect Thinker, and wholly employ'd in furthering Self-preſervation, in the moſt ſimple manner; and removing the immediate Obſtacles he meets with, in that Purſuit, this Affair, perhaps, affects him but little; but when he comes to be a tollerable Reaſoner, and has Leiſure to reflect, it muſt produce ſtrange Chimera's and Surmiſes; and a wild Couple would not converſe together long, before they would endeavour to expreſs their Minds to one another, concerning this Matter; and, as in Time they would invent and agree upon certain Sounds of Diſtinction for ſeveral Things, of which the Idea's would often occur; ſo I believe, that this inviſible Cauſe would be one of the firſt, which they would coin a Name for. A wild Man and a wild Woman would not take leſs Care of their helpleſs Brood, than other Animals; and it is not to be imagin'd, but the Children that were brought up by them, tho' without In-

ſtruction

ſtruction or Diſcipline, would, before they were ten Years old, obſerve in their Parents this Fear of an inviſible Cauſe: It is incredible likewiſe; conſidering, how much Men differ from one another in Features, Complexion, and Temper, that all ſhould form the ſame Idea of this Cauſe; from whence it would follow, that as ſoon as any conſiderable Number of Men could intelligibly converſe together, it would appear, that there were different Opinions among them, concerning the inviſible Cauſe: The Fear and Acknowledgment of it being univerſal, and Man always attributing his own Paſſions to every thing, which he conceives to think, every body would be ſollicitous to avoid the Hatred and Ill-will, and, if it was poſſible, to gain the Friendſhip of ſuch a Power. If we conſider theſe Things, and what we know of the Nature of Man, it is hardly to be conceiv'd, that any conſiderable Number of our Species could have any Intercourſe together long, in Peace or otherwiſe, but willful Lies would be rais'd, concerning this Power, and ſome would pretend to have ſeen or heard it. How different Opinions about inviſible Power, may, by the Malice and Deceit of Impoſtors, be made the Occaſion of mortal Enmity among Multitudes, is eaſily accounted for. If we want Rain very much, and I can be perſuaded, that it is your Fault we have none, there needs no greater Cauſe to

quarrel; and nothing has happen'd in the World, of Prieſtcraft or Inhumanity, Folly or Abomination, on religious Accounts, that cannot be ſolved or explained, with the leaſt Trouble, from theſe *Data*, and the Principle of Fear.

Hor. I think I muſt yield to you, that the firſt Motive of Religion, among Savages, was Fear; but you muſt allow me, in your Turn, that from the general Thankfulneſs, that Nations have always paid to their Gods, for ſignal Benefits and Succeſs; the many Hecatombs that have been offer'd after Victories; and the various Inſtitutions of Games and Feſtivals; it is evident, that, when Men came to be wiſer, and more civiliz'd, the greateſt Part of their Religion was built upon Gratitude.

Cleo. You labour hard, I ſee, to vindicate the Honour of our Species; but we have no ſuch Cauſe to boaſt of it; and I ſhall demonſtrate to you, that a well-weigh'd Conſideration, and a thorough Underſtanding of our Nature, will give us much leſs Reaſon to exult in our Pride, than it will furniſh us with, for the Exerciſe of our Humility. In the firſt place, there is no Difference between the original Nature of a Savage, and that of a civiliz'd Man: They are both born with Fear; and neither of them, if they have their Senſes about them, can live many Years, but an inviſible Power, will, at one Time or other, become the

the Object of that Fear; and this will happen to every Man, whether he be wild and alone, or in Society, and under the beſt Diſcipline. We know by Experience, that Empires, States, and Kingdoms, may excell in Arts and Sciences, Politeneſs, and all worldly Wiſdom, and at the ſame time be Slaves to the groſſeſt Idolatry, and ſubmit to all the Inconſiſtencies of a falſe Religion. The moſt civiliz'd People have been as fooliſh and abſurd in Sacred Worſhip, as it is poſſible for any Savages to be; and the firſt have often been guilty of ſtudy'd Cruelties, which the latter would never have thought of. The *Carthaginians* were a ſubtle flouriſhing People, an opulent and formidable Nation, and *Hannibal* had half conquer'd the *Romans*, when ſtill to their Idols they ſacrific'd the Children of their chief Nobility. And as to private Perſons, there are innumerable Inſtances in the moſt polite Ages of Men of Senſe and Virtue, that have entertain'd the moſt miſerable, unworthy, and extravagant Notions of the Supreme Being. What confus'd and unaccountable Apprehenſions muſt not ſome Men have had of Providence, to act as they did! *Alexander Severus*, who ſucceeded *Heliogabalus*, was a great Reformer of Abuſes, and thought to be as good a Prince, as his Predeceſſor was a bad one: In his Palace he had an Oratory, a Cabinet ſet aſide for his private Devotion, where he had the

Images of *Apollonius Thyanæus*, *Orpheus*, *Abraham*, *Jeſus Chriſt*, and ſuch like Gods, ſays his Hiſtorian. What makes you ſmile?

Hor. To think how induſtrious Prieſts are in concealing a Man's Failings, when they would have you think well of him. What you ſay of *Severus*, I had read before; when looking, one Day, for ſomething in *Moreri*, I happen'd to caſt my Eye on the Article of that Emperour, where no Mention is made, either of *Orpheus* or *Apollonius*: Which, remembring the Paſſage in *Lampridius*, I wonder'd at; and thinking that I might have been miſtaken, I again conſulted that Author, where I found it, as you have related it. I don't queſtion, but *Moreri* left this out, on purpoſe to repay the Civilities of the Emperour to the Chriſtians, whom he tells us, *Severus* had been very favourable to.

Cleo. That's not impoſſible, in a *Roman* Catholick. But what I would ſpeak to, in the ſecond place, is the Feſtivals you mention'd, the Hecatombs after Victories, and the general Thankfulneſs of Nations to their Gods. I deſire, you would conſider, that in ſacred Matters, as well as all human Affairs, there are Rites and Ceremonies, and many Demonſtrations of Reſpect to be ſeen, that to outward Appearance ſeem to proceed from Gratitude, which upon due Examination will be found to have been originally the Reſult of Fear. At what time the Floral Games were firſt inſtituted,

inſtituted, is not well known; but they never were celebrated every Year conſtantly, before a very unſeaſonable Spring put the Senate upon the Decree, that made them annual. To make up the true Compound of Reverence or Veneration, Love and Eſteem are as neceſſary Ingredients as Fear; but the latter alone is capable of making Men counterfeit both the former; as is evident from the Duties, that are outwardly paid to Tyrants, at the ſame time that inwardly they are execrated and hated. Idolaters have always behaved themſelves to every inviſible Cauſe they adored, as Men do to a lawleſs arbitrary Power; when they reckon it as captious, haughty, and unreaſonable, as they allow it to be ſovereign, unlimited, and irreſiſtible. What Motive could the frequent Repetitions of the ſame Solemnities ſpring from, whenever it was ſuſpected, that the leaſt holy Trifle had been omitted? You know, how often the ſame Farce was once acted over again, becauſe after every Performance, there was ſtill room to apprehend, that ſome thing had been neglected. Do but conſult, I beg of you, and call to mind your own Reading; caſt your Eyes on the infinite Variety of Ideas, Men have form'd to themſelves, and the vaſt Multitude of Diviſions they have made of the inviſible Cauſe, which every one imagines to influence human Affairs: Run over the Hiſtory of all Ages, look into every conſiderable Nation, their Streights

and Calamities, as well as Victories and Succeſſes; the Lives of great Generals, and other famous Men, their adverſe Fortune and Proſperity: Mind at which times their Devotion was moſt fervent; when Oracles were moſt conſulted, and on what Accounts the Gods were moſt frequently addreſs'd. Do but calmly conſider every thing, you can remember, relating to Superſtition, whether grave, ridiculous, or execrable; and you will find in the firſt place; that the Heathens, and all that have been ignorant of the true Deity, tho' many of them were Perſons otherwiſe of great Knowledge, fine Underſtanding, and tried Probity, have repreſented their Gods, not as wiſe, benign, equitable, and merciful; but on the contrary, as paſſionate, revengeful, capricious, and unrelenting Beings; not to mention the abominable Vices, and groſs Immoralities, the Vulgar were taught to aſcribe to them: In the ſecond, that for every one Inſtance, that Men have addreſs'd themſelves to an inviſible Cauſe, from a Principle of Gratitude, there are a thouſand in every falſe Religion to convince you, that Divine Worſhip, and Men's Submiſſion to Heaven, have always proceeded from their Fear. The Word Religion itſelf, and the Fear of God, are ſynonimous; and had Man's Acknowledgment been originally founded in Love, as it is in Fear, the Craft of Impoſtors could have made no Advantage of the Paſſion; and all their boaſted

Acquaintance with Gods and Goddeſſes, would have been uſeleſs to them, if Men had worſhip'd the immortal Powers, as they call'd their Idols, out of Gratitude.

Hor. All Lawgivers and Leaders of People gain'd their Point, and acquired what they expected from thoſe Pretences, which is Reverence; and which to produce, you have own'd yourſelf, Love and Eſteem to be as requiſite as Fear.

Cleo. But from the Laws they impoſed on Men, and the Puniſhments they annex'd to the Breach and Neglect of them, it is eaſily ſeen which of the Ingredients they moſt relied upon.

Hor. It would be difficult to name a King, or other great Man in very ancient times, who attempted to govern any Infant Nation, that laid no Claim to ſome Commerce or other with an inviſible Power, either held by himſelf or his Anceſtors. Between them and *Moſes*, there is no other difference, than that he alone was a true Prophet, and really inſpired, and all the reſt were Impoſtors.

Cleo. What would you infer from this?

Hor. That we can ſay no more for ourſelves, than what Men of all Parties and Perſuaſions have done in all Ages, every one for their Cauſe, *viz.* That they alone were in the Right, and all that differ'd from them in the Wrong.

Cleo. Is it not ſufficient, that we can ſay this of ourſelves, with Truth and Juſtice, after the ſtricteſt Examination; when no other Cauſe can ſtand any Teſt, or bear the leaſt Enquiry? A Man may relate Miracles, that never were wrought, and give an Account of Things that never happen'd; but a thouſand Years hence, all knowing Men will agree, that no Body could have wrote Sir *Iſaac Newton's Principia*, unleſs he had been a great Mathematician. When *Moſes* acquainted the *Iſraelites*, with what had been reveal'd to him, he told them a Truth, which no Body then upon Earth knew but himſelf.

Hor. You mean the Unity of God, and his being the Author of the Univerſe.

Cleo. I do ſo.

Hor. But is not every Man of Senſe, capable of knowing this from his Reaſon?

Cleo. Yes, when the Art of Reaſoning conſequentially is come to that Perfection, which it has been arrived at theſe ſeveral hundred Years, and himſelf has been led into the Method of thinking juſtly. Every common Saylor could ſteer a Courſe through the midſt of the Ocean, as ſoon as the Uſe of the Loadſtone and the Mariners Compaſs were invented. But before that, the moſt expert Navigator would have trembled at the Thoughts of ſuch an Enterpriſe. When *Moſes* acquainted and imbued the Poſterity of *Jacob* with this ſublime and important Truth, they were dege-

degenerated into Slaves, attach'd to the Superſtition of the Country they dwell'd in; and the *Ægyptians* their Maſters, tho' they were great Proficients in many Arts and Sciences, and more deeply skill'd in the Myſteries of Nature than any other Nation then was, had the moſt abject and abominable Notions of the Deity, which it is poſſible to conceive; and no Savages could have exceeded their Ignorance and Stupidity, as to the ſupreme Being, the inviſible Cauſe that governs the World. He taught the *Iſraelites*, *à priori*; and their Children, before they were nine or ten Years old, knew, what the greateſt Philoſophers did not attain to, by the Light of Nature, till many Ages after.

Hor. The Advocates for the Ancients will never allow, that any modern Philoſophers have either thought or reaſon'd better, than Men did in former Ages.

Cleo. Let them believe their Eyes: What you ſay, every Man of Senſe may know, by his own Reaſon, was in the Beginning of Chriſtianity conteſted, and denied with Zeal and Vehemence by the greateſt Men in *Rome*. *Celſus*, *Symmachus*, *Porphyry*, *Hierocles*, and other famous Rhetoricians, and Men of unqueſtionable good Senſe, wrote in Defence of Idolatry, and ſtrenuouſly maintained the Plurality and Multiplicity of their Gods. *Moſes* lived above fifteen hundred Years before the Reign of *Auguſtus*. If in a Place, where I was very

ry well aſſured, that no Body underſtood any thing of colouring or drawing, a Man ſhould tell me, that he had acquired the Art of Painting by Inſpiration, I ſhould be more ready to laugh at him, than to believe him; but if I ſaw him draw ſeveral fine Portraicts, before my Face, my Unbelief would ceaſe, and I ſhould think it ridiculous, any longer to ſuſpect his Veracity. All the Accounts that other Lawgivers and Founders of Nations have given of the Deities, which they or their Predeceſſors convers'd with, contain'd Idea's that were unworthy of the Divine Being; and by the Light of Nature only, it is eaſily prov'd, that they muſt have been falſe: But the Image which *Moſes* gave the *Jews* of the Supreme Being, that he was One, and had made Heaven and Earth, will ſtand all Teſts, and is a Truth that will outlaſt the World. Thus, I think, I have fully proved on the one hand, that all true Religion muſt be reveal'd, and could not have come into the World without Miracle; and on the other, that what all Men are born with towards Religion, before they receive any Inſtruction, is Fear.

Hor. You have convinced me many ways, that we are poor Creatures, by Nature; but I can't help ſtrugling againſt thoſe mortifying Truths, when I hear them ſtarted firſt. I long to hear the Origin of Society, and I continually retard your Account of it myſelf, with new Queſtions.

Cleo.

Cleo. Do you remember where we left off?

Hor. I don't think we have made any Progreſs yet; for we have nothing towards it but a wild Man, and a wild Woman; with ſome Children and Grand-children, which they are not able either to teach or to govern.

Cleo. I thought that the Introduction of the Reverence, which the wildeſt Son muſt feel more or leſs for the moſt Savage Father, if he ſtays with him, had been a conſiderable Step.

Hor. I thought ſo too, till you deſtroy'd the Hopes I had conceiv'd of it, yourſelf, by ſhewing me the Incapacity of Savage Parents to make uſe of it: And ſince we are ſtill as far from the Origin of Society as ever we were, or ever can be, in my Opinion; I deſire, that before you proceed to that main Point, you would anſwer what you have put off once already, which is my Queſtion concerning the Notions of Right and Wrong: I cannot be eaſy, before I have your Sentiments on this Head.

Cleo. Your Demand is very reaſonable, and I will ſatisfy you as well as I can. A Man of Senſe, Learning and Experience, that has been well educated, will always find out the difference between Right and Wrong in things diametrically oppoſite; and there are certain Facts, which he will always condemn, and others which he will always approve of: To kill a Member of the ſame Society, that has

not

not offended us, or to rob him, will always be bad; and to cure the Sick, and be beneficent to the Publick, he will always pronounce to be good Actions in themſelves: and for a Man to do as he would be done by, he will always ſay is a good Rule in Life; and not only Men of great Accompliſhments, and ſuch as have learn'd to think abſtractly, but all Men of midling Capacities, that have been brought up in Society, will agree in this, in all Countries, and in all Ages. Nothing likewiſe ſeems more true to all, that have made any tolerable uſe of their Faculty of Thinking, than that out of the Society, before any Diviſion was made, either by Contract or otherwiſe, all Men would have an equal Right to the Earth: But do you believe, that our wild Man, if he had never ſeen any other human Creature but his Savage Conſort, and his Progeny, would ever have entertain'd the ſame Notions of Right and Wrong?

Hor. Hardly; his ſmall Capacity in the Art of Reaſoning, would hinder him from doing it ſo juſtly; and the Power he found he had over his Children, would render him very arbitrary.

Cleo. But without that Incapacity, ſuppoſe that at threeſcore he was by a Miracle to receive a fine Judgment, and the Faculty of Thinking, and Reaſoning conſequentially, in as great a Perfection, as the wiſeſt Man ever had it; do you think, he'd ever alter his Notion,

tion, of the Right he had to every thing he could manage; or have other Sentiments in Relation to himſelf, and his Progeny, than from his Behaviour it appear'd he entertain'd, when he ſeem'd to act almoſt altogether by Inſtinct?

Hor. Without doubt: For if Judgment and Reaſon were given him, what could hinder him from making uſe of thoſe Faculties, as well as others do?

Cleo. You ſeem not to conſider, that no Man can reaſon but *à poſteriori*, from ſomething that he knows, or ſuppoſes to be true: What I ſaid of the difference between Right and Wrong, I ſpoke of Perſons, who remembred their Education, and lived in Society; or at leaſt ſuch, as plainly ſaw others of their own Species, that were independent of them, and either their Equals or Superiours.

Hor. I begin to believe you are in the Right: But at ſecond Thoughts, why might not a Man with great Juſtice think himſelf the Sovereign of a Place, where he knew no human Creature but his own Wife, and the Deſcendents of both?

Cleo. With all my Heart: But may there not be an hundred ſuch Savages in the World with large Families, that might never meet, nor ever hear of one another?

Hor. A thouſand, if you will, and then there would be ſo many natural Sovereigns.

Cleo.

Cleo. Very well: what I would have you obſerve, is, that there are things, which are commonly eſteem'd to be eternal Truths, that an hundred or a thouſand People of fine Senſe and Judgment, could have no Notion of. What if it ſhould be true, that every Man is born with this domineering Spirit, and that we cannot be cured of it, but by our Commerce with others, and the Experience of Facts, by which we are convinc'd, that we have no ſuch Right? Let us examine a Man's whole Life, from his Infancy to his Grave, and ſee, which of the two ſeems to be moſt natural to him; a Deſire of Superiority, and graſping every thing to himſelf; or a Tendency to act according to the reaſonable Notions of Right and Wrong; and we ſhall find, that in his early Youth the firſt is very conſpicuous; that nothing appears of the ſecond before he has receiv'd ſome Inſtructions, and that this latter will always have leſs Influence upon his Actions, the more uncivilis'd he remains: From whence I infer, that the Notions of Right and Wrong are acquired; for if they were as natural, or if they affected us, as early as the Opinion, or rather the Inſtinct we are born with, of taking every thing to be our own, no Child would ever cry for his eldeſt Brother's Play-things.

Hor. I think, there is no Right more natural, nor more reaſonable, than that which

Men

Men have over their Children; and what we owe our Parents can never be repaid.

Cleo. The Obligations we have to good Parents, for their Care and Education, is certainly very great.

Hor. That's the leaſt. We are indebted to them for our Being; we might be educated by an hundred others, but without them, we could never have exiſted.

Cleo. So we could have no Malt Liquor, without the Ground that bears the Barley: I know no Obligations for Benefits that never were intended. Should a Man ſee a fine Parcel of Cherries, be tempted to eat, and devour them accordingly with great Satisfaction: It is poſſible, he might ſwallow ſome of the Stones, which we know by Experience don't digeſt: If twelve or fourteen Months after, he ſhould find a little Sprig of a Cherry-tree growing in a Field, where no Body would expect it: If he recollected the time, he had been there before, it is not improbable, that he might gueſs at the true Reaſon how it came there. It is poſſible likewiſe, that for Curioſity's ſake, this Man might take up this Plant, and take Care of it; I am well aſſured, that whatever became of it afterwards, the Right he would have to it from the Merit of his Action, would be the ſame, which a Savage would have to his Child.

Hor. I think, there would be a vaſt Difference between the one and the other: The Cherry-

Cherry-ſtone was never part of himſelf, nor mix'd with his Blood.

Cleo. Pardon me; all the difference, as vaſt as you take it to be, can only conſiſt in this, that the Cherry-ſtone was not Part of the Man, who ſwallow'd it, ſo long, nor receiv'd ſo great an Alteration in its Figure, whilſt it was, as ſome other things, which the Savage ſwallow'd, were, and receiv'd in their Figure, whilſt they ſtay'd with him.

Hor. But he that ſwallow'd the Cherry-ſtone, did nothing to it; it produced a Plant as a Vegetable, which it might have done as well without his ſwallowing it.

Cleo. That's true; and I own, that as to the Cauſe to which the Plant owes its Exiſtence, you are in the right: But I plainly ſpoke as to the Merit of the Action, which in either Caſe could only proceed from their Intentions, as free Agents; and the Savage might, and would in all Probability act, with as little Deſign to get a Child, as the other had eat Cherries in order to plant a Tree. It is commonly ſaid, that our Children are our own Fleſh and Blood: But this way of ſpeaking is ſtrangely figurative. However, allow it to be juſt, tho' Rhetoriciens have no Name for it; what does it prove, what Benevolence in us, what Kindneſs to others, in the Intention?

Hor. You ſhall ſay what you pleaſe, but I think, that nothing can endear Children to their

their Parents more, than the Reflection, that they are their own Fleſh and Blood.

Cleo. I am of your Opinion; and it is a plain Demonſtration of the ſuperlative Value, we have for our own ſelves, and every thing that comes from us, if it be good, and counted laudable; whereas other things, that are offenſive, tho' equally our own, are in Compliment to ourſelves induſtriouſly conceal'd; and as ſoon as it is agreed upon that any thing is unſeemly, and rather a Diſgrace to us than otherwiſe, preſently it becomes ill Manners to name, or ſo much as to hint at it. The Contents of the Stomach are variouſly diſpoſed of, but we have no hand in that; and whether they go to the Blood, or elſewhere, the laſt thing we did to them voluntarily, and with our Knowledge, was ſwallowing them; and whatever is afterwards perform'd by the Animal Oeconomy, a Man contributes no more to, than he does to the going of his Watch. This is another Inſtance of the unjuſt Claim we lay to every Performance, we are but in the leaſt concern'd in, if good comes of it, tho' Nature does all the Work; but whoever places a Merit in his prolifick Faculty, ought likewiſe to expect the Blame, when he has the Stone, or a Fever. Without this violent Principle of innate Folly, no rational Creature would value himſelf on his free Agency, and at the ſame time accept of Applauſe for Actions that are viſibly independent

of his Will. Life in all Creatures is a compound Action, but the Share they have in it themſelves, is only paſſive. We are forc'd to breathe, before we know it; and our Continuance palpably depends upon the Guardianſhip, and perpetual Tutelage of Nature; whilſt every part of her Works, ourſelves not excepted, is an impenetrable Secret to us, that eludes all Enquiries. Nature furniſhes us with all the Subſtance of our Food herſelf, nor does ſhe truſt to our Wiſdom for an Appetite to crave it; to chew it, ſhe teaches us by Inſtinct, and bribes us to it by Pleaſure. This ſeeming to be an Action of Choice, and ourſelves being conſcious of the Performance, we perhaps may be ſaid to have a part in it; but the Moment after, Nature reſumes her Care, and, again withdrawn from our Knowledge, preſerves us in a myſterious manner, without any Help or Concurrence of ours, that we are ſenſible of. Since then the Management of what we have eat and drank, remains entirely under the Direction of Nature, what Honour or Shame ought we to receive from any part of the Product, whether it is to ſerve as a doubtful Means toward Generation, or yields to Vegetation a leſs fallible Aſſiſtance? It is Nature that prompts us to propagate, as well as to eat; and a Savage Man multiplies his Kind by Inſtinct, as other Animals do, without more Thought or Deſign of preſerving his Species, than a new-born Infant has

has of keeping itſelf alive, in the Action of Sucking.

Hor. Yet Nature gave the different Inſtincts to both, for thoſe Reaſons.

Cleo. Without doubt; but what I mean, is, that the Reaſon of the Thing is as much the Motive of Action in the one, as it is in the other; and I verily believe, that a wild Woman, who had never ſeen, or not minded the Production of any young Animals, would have ſeveral Children before ſhe would gueſs at the real Cauſe of them; any more, than, if ſhe had the Cholick, ſhe would ſuſpect that it proceeded from ſome delicious Fruit ſhe had eaten; eſpecially if ſhe had feaſted upon it for ſeveral Months, without perceiving any Inconveniency from it. Children, all the World over, are brought forth with Pain, more or leſs, which ſeems to have no Affinity with Pleaſure; and an untaught Creature, however docil and attentive, would want ſeveral clear Experiments, before it would believe, that the one could produce or be the Cauſe of the other.

Hor. Moſt People marry in Hopes, and with a Deſign, of having Children.

Cleo. I doubt, not; and believe, that there are as many, that would rather not have Children, or at leaſt not ſo faſt as often they come, as there are that wiſh for them, even in the State of Matrimony: But out of it, in the Amours of Thouſands, that revel in Enjoyments,

Children are reckon'd to be the greateſt Calamity that can befal them; and often, what criminal Love gave Birth to, without Thought, more criminal Pride deſtroys, with purpos'd and conſiderate Cruelty. But all this belongs to People in Society, that are knowing, and well acquainted with the natural Conſequences of Things; what I urg'd, I ſpoke of a Savage.

Hor. Still the End of Love, between the different Sexes, in all Animals, is the Preſervation of their Species.

Cleo. I have allow'd that already. But once more; the Savage is not prompted to Love, from that Conſideration: He propagates, before he knows the Conſequence of it; and I much queſtion, whether the moſt civiliz'd Pair, in the moſt chaſte of their Embraces, ever acted from the Care of their Species, as a real Principle. A rich Man may, with great Impatience, wiſh for a Son, to inherit his Name and his Eſtate; perhaps, he may marry from no other Motive, and for no other Purpoſe; but all the Satisfaction he ſeems to receive, from the flattering Proſpect of an happy Poſterity, can only ariſe from a pleaſing Reflection on himſelf, as the Cauſe of thoſe Deſcendants. How much ſoever this Man's Poſterity might be thought to owe him for their Being, it is certain, that, the Motive he acted from, was to oblige himſelf: Still here's a wiſhing for Poſterity,

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a Thought and Deſign of getting Children, which no wild Couple could have to boaſt of; yet they would be vain enough to look upon themſelves, as the principal Cauſe of all their Offſpring and Deſcendants; though they ſhould live to ſee the fifth or ſixth Generation.

Hor. I can find no Vanity in that, and I ſhould think 'em ſo myſelf.

Cleo. Yet, as free Agents, it would be plain, that they had contributed nothing to the Exiſtence of their Poſterity.

Hor. Now ſurely, you have over-ſhot the Mark; nothing?

Cleo. No, nothing, even to that of their own Children, knowingly; if you'll allow, that Men have their Appetites from Nature. There is but one real Cauſe in the Univerſe, to produce that infinite Variety of ſtupendious Effects, and all the mighty Labours that are perform'd in Nature; either within, or far beyond, the Reach of our Senſes. Parents are the Efficients of their Offſpring, with no more Truth or Propriety of Speech, than the Tools of an Artificer, that were made and contriv'd by himſelf, are the Cauſe of the moſt elaborate of his Works. The ſenſeleſs Engine, that raiſes Water into the Copper, and the paſſive Maſh-tub, have between them, as great a Share in the Art and Action of Brewing, as the livelieſt Male and Female ever had in the Production of an Animal.

Hor. You make Stocks and Stones of us; Is it not in our choice, to act, or not to act?

Cleo. Yes, it is in my choice now, either to run my Head againſt the Wall, or to let it alone; but, I hope, it does not puzzle you much to gueſs, which of the two I ſhall chuſe.

Hor. But don't we move our Bodies as we liſt? and is not every Action determin'd by the Will?

Cleo. What ſignifies that, where there is a Paſſion that manifeſtly ſways, and with a ſtrict Hand governs that Will?

Hor. Still we act with Conſciouſneſs, and are intelligent Creatures.

Cleo. Not in the Affair I ſpeak of; where, willing or not willing, we are violently urg'd from within, and, in a manner, compell'd, not only to aſſiſt in, but likewiſe to long for, and, in ſpight of our Teeth, be highly pleaſed with, a Performance, that infinitely ſurpaſſes our Underſtanding. The Compariſon I made is juſt, in every Part of it; for the moſt loving, and, if you will, the moſt ſagacious Couple, you can conceive, are as ignorant in the Myſtery of Generation; nay, muſt remain, after having had twenty Children, together, as much uninform'd, and as little conſcious of Nature's Tranſactions, and what has been wrought within them; as inanimate Utenſils are of the moſt myſtick and moſt ingenious Operations they have been employ'd in.

Hor.

Hor. I don't know any Man more expert in tracing human Pride, or more ſevere in humbling it, than yourſelf; but when the Subject comes in your Way, you don't know how to leave it. I wiſh you would, at once, go over to the Origin of Society; which, how to derive, or bring about at all, from the ſavage Family, as we left it, is paſt my Skill. It is impoſſible but thoſe Children, when they grew up, would quarrel on innumerable Occaſions: If Men had but three Appetites to gratify, that are the moſt obvious, they could never live together in Peace, without Government: For though they all paid a Deference to the Father, yet, if he was a Man void of all Prudence, that could give them no good Rules to walk by, I am perſuaded that they would live in a perpetual State of War; and the more numerous his Offspring grew, the more the old Savage would be puzzled, between his Deſire and Incapacity of Government. As they encreaſed in Numbers, they would be forced to extend their Limits, and the Spot they were born upon would not hold them long: No body would be willing to leave his native Vale, eſpecially if it was a fruitful one. The more I think upon it, and the more I look into ſuch Multitudes, the leſs I can conceive, which way they could ever be form'd into a Society.

Cleo. The firſt thing that could make Man aſſociate, would be common Danger, which unites the greateſt Enemies: This Danger they would certainly be in, from wild Beaſts; conſidering, that no uninhabited Country is without them, and the defenceleſs Condition, in which Men come into the World. This often muſt have been a cruel Article, to prevent the Increaſe of our Species.

Hor. The Suppoſition then, that this wild Man, with his Progeny, ſhould for fifty Years live undiſturbed, is not very probable; and I need not trouble myſelf about our Savage's being embarraſs'd with too numerous an Offſpring.

Cleo. You ſay right; there is no Probability, that a Man and his Progeny, all unarm'd, ſhould ſo long eſcape the ravenous Hunger of Beaſts of Prey, that are to live upon what Animals they can get; that leave no Place unſearch'd, nor Pains untry'd, to come at Food, though with the Hazard of their Lives. The Reaſon why I made that Suppoſition, was to ſhew you, firſt, the Improbability that a wild, and altogether untaught Man, ſhould have the Knowledge and Diſcretion, which Sir *William Temple* gives him; ſecondly, that Children, who convers'd with their own Species, though they were brought up by Savages, would be governable; and conſequently, that all ſuch, when come to Maturity, would be fit for Society, how

ignorant and unskillful ſoever their Parents might have been.

Hor. I thank you for it; for it has ſhewn me, that the very firſt Generation of the moſt brutiſh Savages, was ſufficient to produce ſociable Creatures; but that to produce a Man fit to govern others, much more was required.

Cleo. I return to my Conjecture, concerning the firſt Motive, that would make Savages aſſociate: It is not poſſible to know any thing, with Certainty, of Beginnings, where Men were deſtitute of Letters; but I think, that the Nature of the thing makes it highly probable, that it muſt have been their common Danger from Beaſts of Prey; as well ſuch fly ones, as lay in wait for their Children, and the defenceleſs Animals, Men made Uſe of for themſelves; as the more bold, that would openly attack grown Men and Women. What much confirms me in this Opinion, is, the general Agreement of all the Relations we have, from the moſt ancient Times, in different Countries: For in the Infancy of all Nations, prophane Hiſtory is ſtuff'd with the Accounts of the Conflicts Men had with wild Beaſts. It took up the chief Labours of the Heroes of remoteſt Antiquity, and their greateſt Proweſs was ſhewn in killing of Dragons, and ſubduing of other Monſters.

Hor.

Hor. Do you lay any Streſs upon Sphinxes, Baſilisks, flying Dragons, and Bulls that ſpit Fire?

Cleo. As much as I do on modern Witches. But I believe, that all thoſe Fictions had their Riſe from noxious Beaſts, the Miſchiefs they did, and other Realities that ſtruck Terrour into Man; and, I believe, that if no Man had ever been ſeen on a Horſe's Back, we ſhould never have heard of Centaurs. The prodigious Force and Rage, that are apparent in ſome ſavage Animals, and the aſtoniſhing Power, which from the various Poyſons of venemous Creatures, we are ſure muſt be hid in others; the ſudden and unexpected Aſſaults of Serpents, the Variety of them, the vaſt Bulks of Crocodiles; the irregular and uncommon Shapes of ſome Fiſhes, and the Wings of others, are all things that are capable of alarming Man's Fear; and it is incredible what Chimera's, that Paſſion alone may produce in a terrify'd Mind: The Dangers of the Day often haunt Men at Night with Addition of Terror; and from what they remember in their Dreams, it is eaſy to forge Realities. If you will conſider likewiſe, that the natural Ignorance of Man, and his hankering after Knowledge, will augment the Credulity, which Hope and Fear firſt give Birth to; the Deſire the Generality have of Applauſe, and the great Eſteem that is commonly had for the *Merveilleux*, and the Witneſſes

neſſes and Relaters of it: If, I ſay, you will conſider all theſe, you will eaſily diſcover; how many Creatures came to be talk'd of, deſcrib'd, and formally painted, that never had any Exiſtence.

Hor. I don't wonder at the Origin of monſtrous Figures, or the Invention of any Fables whatever; but in the Reaſon you gave for the firſt Motive, that would make Men combine in one Intereſt, I find ſomething very perplexing, which, I own, I never thought of before. When I reflect on the Condition of Man, as you have ſet it before me, naked and defenceleſs, and the Multitude of ravenous Animals, that thirſt after his Blood, and are ſuperior to him in Strength, and completely arm'd by Nature, it is inconceivable to me, how our Species ſhould have ſubſiſted.

Cleo. What you obſerve is well worthy our Attention.

Hor. It is aſtoniſhing. What filthy, abominable Beaſts are Lions and Tygers!

Cleo. I think them to be very fine Creatures; there is nothing I admire more than a Lion.

Hor. We have ſtrange Accounts of his Generoſity and Gratitude; but do you believe them?

Cleo. I don't trouble my Head about them: What I admire, is his Fabrick, his Structure, and his Rage, ſo juſtly proportion'd to one another.

another. There are Order, Symmetry, and ſuperlative Wiſdom to be obſerv'd in all the Works of Nature; but ſhe has not a Machine, of which every Part more viſibly anſwers the End, for which the whole was form'd.

Hor. The Deſtruction of other Animals.

Cleo. That's true; but how conſpicuous is that End, without Myſtery or Uncertainty! That Grapes were made for Wine, and Man for Society, are Truths not accompliſh'd in every Individual: But there is a real Majeſty ſtamp'd on every ſingle Lion, at the Sight of which, the ſtouteſt Animals ſubmit and tremble. When we look upon, and examine, his maſſy Talons, the Size of them, and the labour'd Firmneſs, with which they are fix'd in, and faſten'd to that prodigious Paw; his dreadful Teeth, the Strength of his Jaws, and the Width of his Mouth equally terrible, the Uſe of them is obvious; but when we conſider, moreover, the Make of his Limbs, the Toughneſs of his Fleſh and Tendons, the Solidity of his Bones, beyond that of other Animals, and the whole Frame of him, together with his never-ceaſing Anger, Speed and Agility; whilſt in the Deſart he ranges King of Beaſts: When, I ſay, we conſider all theſe Things, it is Stupidity, not to ſee the Deſign of Nature, and with what amazing Skill, the beautiful Creature is contrived, for offenſive War and Conqueſt.

Hor.

Hor. You are a good Painter. But, after all, why would you judge of a Creature's Nature from what it was perverted to, rather than from its Original, the State it was firſt produced in? The Lion in Paradiſe was a gentle, loving Creature. Hear what *Milton* ſays of his Behaviour before *Adam* and *Eve*, *as they ſate recline on the ſoft downy Bank, damask'd with Flowers:*

——————About them friſking play'd
All Beaſts of the Earth, ſince wild, and of all chace
In Wood or Wilderneſs, Foreſt or Den;
Sporting the Lion ramp'd, and in his Paw
Dandl'd the Kid; Bears, Tygres, Ounces, Pards,
Gambol'd before them.——————

What was it, the Lion fed upon; what Suſtenance had all theſe Beaſts of Prey, in Paradiſe?

Cleo. I don't know. No body, who believes the Bible, doubts, but that the whole State of Paradiſe, and the Intercouſe between God and the firſt Man, were as much preternatural, as the Creation out of Nothing; and therefore it cannot be ſuppos'd, that they ſhould be accounted for by human Reaſon; and if they were, *Moſes* would not be anſwerable for more than he advanced himſelf. The Hiſtory which he has given us of thoſe Times

is

is extremely ſuccinct, and ought not to be charged with any thing, contain'd in the Gloſſes and Paraphraſes, that have been made upon it by others.

Hor. Milton has ſaid nothing of Paradiſe, but what he could juſtify from *Moſes.*

Cleo. It is no where to be proved, from *Moſes*, that the State of Innocence laſted ſo long, that Goats or any viviparous Animals could have bred, and brought forth young ones.

Hor. You mean, that there could have been no Kid. I ſhould never have made that Cavil, in ſo fine a Poem. It was not in my Thoughts: What I aim'd at in repeating thoſe Lines, was to ſhew you, how ſuperfluous and impertinent a Lion muſt have been in Paradiſe; and that thoſe who pretend to find fault with the Works of Nature, might have cenſur'd her with Juſtice, for laviſhing and throwing away ſo many Excellencies, upon a great Beaſt, to no Purpoſe. What a fine Variety of deſtructive Weapons, would they ſay, what prodigious Strength of Limbs and Sinews are here given to a Creature! What to do with? To be quiet, and dandle a Kid. I own, that to me, this Province, the Employment aſſign'd to the Lion, ſeems to be as proper and well choſen, as if you'd make a Nurſe of *Alexander the Great.*

Cleo. You might make as many Flights upon a Lion now, if you ſaw him aſleep. No body

body would think that a Bull had Occaſion for Horns, who had never ſeen him otherwiſe, than quietly grazing among a Parcel of Cows; but, if one ſhould ſee him attack'd by Dogs, by a Wolf, or a Rival of his own Species, he would ſoon find out, that his Horns were of great Uſe and Service to him. The Lion was not made to be always in Paradiſe.

Hor. There I would have you. If the Lion was contriv'd for Purpoſes, to be ſerv'd and executed out of Paradice, then it is manifeſt, from the very Creation, that the Fall of Man was determin'd and predeſtinated.

Cleo. Fore-known it was: Nothing could be hid from Omniſcience: that is certain; but that it was predeſtinated ſo as to have prejudiced, or any ways influenced the Free-Will of *Adam*, I utterly deny. But that Word, *predeſtinated*, has made ſo much Noiſe in the World, and the thing itſelf has been the Cauſe of ſo many fatal Quarrels, and is ſo inexplicable, that I am reſolved never to engage in any Diſpute concerning it.

Hor. I can't make you; but what you have extoll'd ſo much, muſt have coſt the Lives of thouſands of our Species; and it is a Wonder to me how Men, when they were but few, could poſſibly defend themſelves, before they had Fire Arms, or at leaſt, Bows and Arrows; for what Number of naked Men and Women, would be a Match for one Couple of Lions?

Cleo.

Cleo. Yet, here we are; and none of thoſe Animals are ſuffer'd to be wild, in any civiliz'd Nation; our ſuperior Underſtanding has got the Start of them.

Hor. My Reaſon tells me, it muſt be that; but I can't help obſerving, that when human Underſtanding ſerves your Purpoſe to ſolve any thing, it is always ready and full grown; but at other times, Knowledge and Reaſoning are the Work of Time, and Men are not capable of thinking juſtly, 'till after many Generations. Pray, before Men had Arms, what could their Underſtanding do againſt Lions, and what hindred wild Beaſts from devouring Mankind, as ſoon as they were born?

Cleo. Providence.

Hor. Daniel, indeed, was ſav'd by Miracle; but what is that to the reſt of Mankind? great Numbers, we know, have, at different times, been torn to Pieces by ſavage Beaſts: What I want to know, is the Reaſon, that any of them eſcap'd, and the whole Species was not deſtroy'd by them; when Men had yet no Weapons to defend, nor ſtrong Holds to ſhelter themſelves from the Fury of thoſe mercileſs Creatures.

Cleo. I have named it to you already, Providence.

Hor. But which Way can you prove this miraculous Aſſiſtance?

Cleo.

Cleo. You ſtill talk of Miracles, and I ſpeak of Providence, or the all-governing Wiſdom of God.

Hor. If you can demonſtrate to me, how that Wiſdom interpos'd between our Species, and that of Lions, in the Beginning of the World, without Miracle, any more than it does at preſent, *Eris mihi magnus Apollo:* For now, I am ſure, a wild Lion would prey upon a naked Man, as ſoon, at leaſt, as he would upon an Ox or an Horſe.

Cleo. Won't you allow me, that all Properties, Inſtincts, and what we call the Nature of Things, animate or inanimate, are the Produce, the Effects of that Wiſdom?

Hor. I never thought otherwiſe.

Cleo. Then it will not be difficult to prove this to you. Lions are never brought forth wild, but in very hot Countries, as Bears are the Product of the cold. But the Generality of our Species, which loves moderate Warmth, are moſt delighted with the middle Regions. Men may, againſt their Wills, be inured to intenſe Cold, or by Uſe and Patience accuſtom themſelves to exceſſive Heat; but a mild Air, and Weather between both Extremes, being more agreeable to human Bodies, the greateſt Part of Mankind would naturally ſettle in temperate Climates, and with the ſame Conveniency, as to every thing elſe, never chuſe any other. This would very much leſſen the

Danger Men would be in from the fierceſt and moſt irreſiſtible wild Beaſts.

Hor. But would Lions and Tygers in hot Countries, keep ſo cloſe within their Bounds, and Bears in cold ones, as never to ſtraggle or ſtray beyond them?

Cleo. I don't ſuppoſe they would; and Men, as well as Cattle, have often been pick'd up by Lions, far from the Places where theſe were whelp'd. No wild Beaſts are more fatal to our Species, than often we are to one another; and Men purſued by their Enemies have fled into Climates and Countries, which they would never have choſe. Avarice likewiſe and Curioſity, have, without Force or Neceſſity, often expoſed Men to Dangers, which they might have avoided, if they had been ſatisfied with what Nature required; and labour'd for Self-preſervation in that ſimple Manner, which Creatures leſs vain and fantaſtical content themſelves with. In all theſe Caſes, I don't queſtion, but Multitudes of our Species have ſuffer'd from Savage Beaſts, and other noxious Animals; and on their account only, I verily believe, it would have been impoſſible for any Number of Men, to have ſettled or ſubſiſted in either very hot or very cold Countries, before the Invention of Bows and Arrows, or better Arms. But all this does nothing to overthrow my Aſſertion: What I wanted to prove is, that all Creatures, chuſing by Inſtinct that Degree of Heat or Cold

which is moſt natural to them, there would be Room enough in the World for Man to multiply his Species, for many Ages, without running almoſt any Riſque of being devour'd either by Lions or by Bears; and that the moſt ſavage Man would find this out, without the help of his Reaſon. This I call the Work of Providence; by which I mean the unalterable Wiſdom of the Supreme Being, in the harmonious Diſpoſition of the Univerſe; the Fountain of that incomprehenſible Chain of Cauſes, on which all Events have their undoubted Dependance.

Hor. You have made this out, better than I had expected; but I am afraid, that what you alledged, as the firſt Motive toward Society, is come to nothing by it.

Cleo. Don't fear that; there are other ſavage Beaſts, againſt which Men could not guard themſelves unarm'd, without joyning, and mutual Aſſiſtance: In temperate Climates, moſt uncultivated Countries abound with Wolves.

Hor. I have ſeen them in *Germany*; they are of the Size of a large Maſtiff; but I thought their chief Prey had been Sheep.

Cleo. Any thing they can conquer is their Prey: They are deſperate Creatures, and will fall upon Men, Cows, and Horſes, as well as upon Sheep, when they are very hungry: They have Teeth like Maſtiffs; but beſides them they have ſharp Claws to tear with,

which Dogs have not. The ſtouteſt Man is hardly equal to them in Strength; but what is worſe, they often come in Troops, and whole Villages have been attack'd by them: They have five, ſix, and more Whelps at a Litter, and would ſoon over-run a Country, where they breed, if Men did not combine againſt, and make it their Buſineſs to deſtroy them. Wild Boars likewiſe, are terrible Creatures, that few large Foreſts, and uninhabited Places, in temperate Climates, are free from.

Hor. Thoſe Tusks of theirs are dreadful Weapons.

Cleo. And they are much ſuperiour to Wolves in Bulk and Strength. Hiſtory is full of the Miſchief they have done in ancient Times, and of the Renown that valiant Men have gain'd by conquering them.

Hor. That's true; but thoſe Heroes, that fought Monſters in former Days, were well arm'd; at leaſt, the Generality of them; but what could a Number of naked Men, before they had any Arms at all, have, to oppoſe to the Teeth and Claws of ravenous Wolves, that came in Troops; and what Impreſſion could the greateſt Blow a Man can ſtrike, make upon the thick briſtly Hide of a wild Boar?

Cleo. As on the one hand, I have named every thing, that Man has to fear from wild Beaſts; ſo, on the other, we ought not to for-

get

get the Things that are in his Favour. In the firſt place, a wild Man inured to Hardſhip, would far exceed a tame one, in all Feats of Strength, Nimbleneſs, and Activity: In the ſecond, his Anger would ſooner and more uſefully tranſport and aſſiſt him in his ſavage State, than it can do in Society; where, from his Infancy, he is ſo many ways taught, and forced, in his own Defence, to cramp and ſtifle with his Fears the noble Gift of Nature. In wild Creatures we ſee, that moſt of them, when their own Life, or that of their young ones, is at Stake, fight with great Obſtinacy, and continue fighting to the laſt, and do what Miſchief they can, whilſt they have Breath, without regard to their being overmatch'd, or the Diſadvantages they labour under. It is obſerv'd likewiſe, that the more untaught and inconſiderate Creatures are, the more entirely they are ſway'd by the Paſſion that is uppermoſt: Natural Affection would make wild Men, and Women too, ſacrifice their Lives, and die for their Children; but they would die fighting; and one Wolf would not find it an eaſy Matter to carry off a Child from his watchful Parents, if they were both reſolute, though they were naked. As to Man's being born defenceleſs, it is not to be conceiv'd, that he ſhould long know the Strength of his Arms, without being acquainted with the Articulation of his Fingers, or at leaſt, what is owing to it, his Faculty

of graſping and holding faſt; and the moſt untaught Savage would make Uſe of Clubs and Staves before he came to Maturity. As the Danger Men are in from wild Beaſts would be of the higheſt Conſequence, ſo it would employ their utmoſt Care and Induſtry; They would dig Holes, and invent other Stratagems, to diſtreſs their Enemies, and deſtroy their young ones: As ſoon as they found out Fire, they would make uſe of that Element to guard themſelves and annoy their Foes: By the Help of it they would ſoon learn to ſharpen Wood, which preſently would put 'em upon making Spears and other Weapons that would cut. When Men are angry enough with Creatures to ſtrike them, and theſe are running away, or flying from them, they are apt to throw at what they cannot reach: This, as ſoon as they had Spears, would naturally lead them to the Invention of Darts and Javelins. Here, perhaps, they might ſtop a while; but the ſame Chain of Thinking would, in Time, produce Bows and Arrows: The Elaſticity of Sticks and Boughs of Trees is very obvious; and to make Strings of the Guts of Animals, I dare ſay, is more ancient than the Uſe of Hemp. Experience teaches us, that Men may have all theſe, and many more Weapons, and be very expert in the Uſe of them, before any manner of Government, except that of Parents over their Children, is to be ſeen among

among them: It is likewiſe very well known, that Savages furniſh'd with no better Arms, when they are ſtrong enough in Number, will venture to attack, and even hunt after the fierceſt wild Beaſts, Lions and Tygers not excepted. Another thing is to be conſider'd, that likewiſe favours our Species, and relates to the Nature of the Creatures, of which in temperate Climates Man has Reaſon to ſtand in bodily fear of.

Hor. Wolves and wild Boars?

Cleo. Yes. That great Numbers of our Species have been devour'd by the firſt, is unconteſted; but they moſt naturally go in queſt of Sheep and Poultry; and, as long as they can get Carrion, or any thing to fill their Bellies with, they ſeldom hunt after Men, or other large Animals; which is the reaſon, that in the Summer our Species, as to perſonal Inſults, have not much to fear from them. It is certain likewiſe, that Savage Swine will hunt after Men, and many of their Maws have been cramm'd with human Fleſh: But they naturally feed on Acorns, Cheſnuts, Beach-maſt, and other Vegetables; and they are only carnivorous upon Occaſion, and through Neceſſity, when they can get nothing elſe; in great Froſts, when the Country is bare, and every thing cover'd with Snow. It is evident then, that human Creatures are not in any great and immediate Danger from either of theſe Species of Beaſts, but in hard Winters, which

happen but ſeldom in temperate Climates. But as they are our perpetual Enemies, by ſpoiling and devouring every thing that may ſerve for the Suſtenance of Man; it is highly neceſſary, that we ſhould not only be always upon our guard againſt them, but likewiſe never ceaſe to aſſiſt one another, in routing and deſtroying them.

Hor. I plainly ſee, that Mankind might ſubſiſt and ſurvive to multiply, and get the Maſtery over all other Creatures that ſhould oppoſe them; and as this could never have been brought about, unleſs Men had aſſiſted one another againſt Savage Beaſts, it is poſſible, that the Neceſſity Men were in of joyning and uniting together, was the firſt Step toward Society. Thus far I am willing to allow you, to have proved your main Point: But to aſcribe all this to Providence, otherwiſe, than that nothing is done without the Divine Permiſſion, ſeems inconſiſtent with the Ideas we have of a perfectly good, and merciful Being. It is poſſible, that all poyſonous Animals may have ſomething in them, that's beneficial to Men; and I won't diſpute with you, whether the moſt venomous of all the Serpents, which *Lucan* has made mention of, did not contain ſome Antidote, or other fine Medicine, ſtill undiſcovered: But when I look upon the vaſt Variety of ravenous and blood-thirſty Creatures, that are not only ſuperiour to us in Strength, but likewiſe

wiſe viſibly arm'd by Nature, as it were on purpoſe for our Deſtruction; when, I ſay, I look upon theſe, I can find out no Uſe for them, nor what they could be deſign'd for, unleſs it be to puniſh us: but I can much leſs conceive, that the Divine Wiſdom ſhould have made them the Means without which Men could not have been civiliz'd. How many thouſands of our Species muſt have been devour'd in the Conflicts with them!

Cleo. Ten Troops of Wolves, with fifty in each, would make a terrible Havock in a long Winter among a Million of our Species with their Hands tied behind them; but among half that Number, one Peſtilence has been known to ſlaughter more, than ſo many Wolves could have eaten in the ſame time; notwithſtanding the great Reſiſtance that was made againſt it, by approv'd of Medicines and able Phyſicians. It is owing to the Principle of Pride we are born with, and the high Value we all, for the Sake of one, have for our Species, that Men imagine the whole Univerſe to be principally made for their uſe; and this Errour makes them commit a thouſand Extravagancies, and have pitiful and moſt unworthy Notions of God and his Works. It is not greater Cruelty, or more unnatural in a Wolf to eat a piece of a Man, than it is in a Man to eat part of a Lamb or a Chicken. What, or how many Purpoſes wild Beaſts were made for, is not for us to determine: But that they

they were made, we know; and that ſome of them muſt have been very calamitous to every Infant Nation, and Settlement of Men, is almoſt as certain: This you was fully perſuaded of; and thought moreover, that they muſt have been ſuch an Obſtacle to the very Subſiſtence of our Species, as was inſurmountable: In anſwer to this difficulty, which you ſtarted, I ſhew'd you, from the different Inſtincts, and peculiar Tendencies of Animals, that in Nature a manifeſt Proviſion was made for our Species; by which, notwithſtanding the Rage and Power of the fierceſt Beaſts, we ſhould make a ſhift, naked and defenceleſs, to eſcape their Fury, ſo as to be able to maintain ourſelves and multiply our Kind, till by our Numbers, and Arms acquired by our own Induſtry, we could put to flight, or deſtroy all Savage Beaſts without Exception, whatever Spot of the Globe we might have a mind to cultivate and ſettle on. The neceſſary Bleſſings we receive from the Sun, are obvious to a Child; and it is demonſtrable, that without it, none of the living Creatures that are now upon the Earth, could ſubſiſt. But if it were of no other Uſe, being ſeven or eight hundred thouſand times bigger than the Earth at leaſt, one thouſandth part of it would do our Buſineſs as well, if it was but nearer to us in Proportion. From this Conſideration alone, I am perſuaded, that the Sun was made to enlighten and cheriſh other Bodies, beſides this Planet

net of ours. Fire and Water were deſign'd for innumerable Purpoſes, and among the Uſes that are made of them, ſome are immenſly different from others. But whilſt we receive the Benefit of theſe, and are only intent on ourſelves, it is highly probable, that there are thouſands of things, and perhaps our own Machines among them, that in the vaſt Syſtem of the Univerſe are now ſerving ſome very wiſe Ends, which we ſhall never know. According to that Plan of this Globe, I mean the Scheme of Government, in relation to the living Creatures that inhabit the Earth, the Deſtruction of Animals is as neceſſary as the Generation of them.

Hor. I have learn'd that from *the Fable of the Bees*; and I believe what I have read there to be very true; that, if any one Species was to be exempt from Death, it would in time cruſh all the reſt to pieces, tho' the firſt were Sheep, and the latter all Lions: But that the Supreme Being ſhould have introduced Society at the Expence of ſo many Lives of our Species, I cannot believe, when it might have been done much better in a milder way.

Cleo. We are ſpeaking of what probably was done, and not of what might have been done. There is no queſtion, but the ſame Power that made Whales, might have made us ſeventy Feet high, and given us Strength in Proportion. But ſince the Plan of this Globe

Globe requires, and you think it neceſſary your ſelf, that in every Species ſome ſhould dye almoſt as faſt as others are born, why would you take away any of the Means of dying?

Hor. Are there not Diſeaſes enough, Phyſicians and Apothecaries, as well as Wars by Sea and Land, that may take off more than the Redundancy of our Species?

Cleo. They may, it is true; but in Fact, they are not always ſufficient to do this: And in populous Nations we ſee, that War, wild Beaſts, Hanging, Drowning, and an hundred Caſualties together, with Sickneſs and all its Attendants, are hardly a Match for one inviſible Faculty of ours, which is the Inſtinct Men have to preſerve their Species. Every thing is eaſy to the Deity; but to ſpeak after an human manner, it is evident, that in forming this Earth, and every thing that is in it, no leſs Wiſdom or Sollicitude was required, in contriving the various Ways and Means, to get rid and deſtroy Animals, than ſeems to have been employ'd in producing them; and it is as demonſtrable, that our Bodies were made on purpoſe not to laſt beyond ſuch a Period, as it is, that ſome Houſes are built with a Deſign not to ſtand longer than ſuch a Term of Years. But it is Death itſelf to which our Averſion by Nature is univerſal; as to the manner of dying, Men differ in their Opinions; and I never heard of one yet that was generally liked of.

Hor.

Hor. But no Body chuſes a cruel one. What an unſpeakable and infinitely excruciating Torment muſt it be, to be torn to pieces, and eat alive by a Savage Beaſt!

Cleo. Not greater, I can aſſure you, than are daily occaſion'd by the Gout in the Stomach, and the Stone in the Bladder.

Hor. Which way can you give me this Aſſurance; how can you prove it?

Cleo. From our Fabrick itſelf, the Frame of human Bodies, that cannot admit of any Torment, infinitely excruciating. The Degrees of Pain, as well as of Pleaſure, in this Life are limited, and exactly proportion'd to every one's Strength; whatever exceeds that, takes away the Senſes; and whoever has once fainted away with the Extremity of any Torture, knows the full Extent of what here he can ſuffer, if he remembers what he felt. The real Miſchief, which wild Beaſts have done to our Species, and the Calamities they have brought upon it, are not to be compared to the cruel Uſage, and the Multiplicity of mortal Injuries, which Men have receiv'd from one another. Set before your Eyes a robuſt Warriour, that having loſt a Limb in Battle, is afterwards trampled upon by twenty Horſes; and tell me, pray, whether you think, that lying thus helpleſs with moſt of his Ribs broke, and a fractur'd Skull, in the Agony of Death for ſeveral Hours, he ſuffers leſs, than if a Lion had diſpatch'd him?

Hor.

Hor. They are both very bad.

Cleo. In the choice of things we are more often directed by the Caprice of Faſhions, and the Cuſtom of the Age, than we are by ſolid Reaſon, or our own Underſtanding. There is no greater Comfort in dying of a Dropſy, and being eaten by Worms, than there is in being drown'd at Sea, and becoming the Prey of Fiſhes. But in our narrow way of thinking, there is ſomething that ſubverts and corrupts our Judgment; how elſe could Perſons of known Elegancy in their Taſte, prefer rotting and ſtinking in a loathſome Sepulchre, to their being burnt in the open Air to inoffenſive Aſhes?

Hor. I freely own, that I have an Averſion to every thing that is ſhocking and unnatural.

Cleo. What you call ſhocking, I don't know; but nothing is more common to Nature, or more agreeable to her ordinary Courſe, than that Creatures ſhould live upon one another: The whole Syſtem of animated Beings on the Earth ſeems to be built upon this; and there is not one Species, that we know of, that has not another that feeds upon it, either alive or dead; and moſt kind of Fiſh are forced to live upon Fiſh. That this in the laſt-mention'd, was not an Omiſſion or Neglect, is evident from the large Proviſion Nature has made for it, far exceeding any thing ſhe has done for other Animals.

Hor.

Hor. You mean the prodigious Quantity of Roe they ſpawn.

Hor. Yes; and that the Eggs, contain'd in them, receive not their Fecundity, till after they are excluded; by which means the Female may be fill'd with as many of them as her Belly can hold, and the Eggs themſelves may be more cloſely crowded together, than would be conſiſtent with the Admiſſion of any Subſtance from the Male: Without this, one Fiſh could not bring forth yearly ſuch a prodigious Shoal.

Cleo. But might not the *aura ſeminalis* of the Male be ſubtile enough to penetrate the whole Cluſter of Eggs, and influence every one of them, without taking up any room, as it does in Fowls and other oviparous Animals?

Hor. The Oſtrich excepted in the firſt place; in the ſecond, there are no other oviparous Animals, in which the Eggs are ſo cloſely compacted together, as they are in Fiſh. But ſuppoſe that the prolifick Power ſhould pervade the whole Maſs of them; if all the Eggs, which ſome of the Females are cramm'd with, were to be impregnated whilſt they are within the Fiſh, it is impoſſible, but the *aura ſeminalis*, the prolifick Spirit of the Male, tho' it took up no room itſelf, would, as it does in all other Creatures, dilate, and more or leſs diſtend every Egg; and the leaſt Expanſion of ſo many Individuals would ſwell the whole Roe to a Bulk that would require

a much greater Space, than the Cavity that now contains them. Is not here a Contrivance beyond Imagination fine, to provide for the Continuance of a Species, tho' every Individual of it ſhould be born with an Inſtinct to deſtroy it!

Cleo. What you ſpeak of, is only true at Sea, in a conſiderable part of *Europe* at leaſt: For in freſh Water moſt kinds of Fiſh do not feed on their own Species, and yet they ſpawn in the ſame manner, and are as full of Roe as all the reſt: Among them, the only great Deſtroyer with us, is the Pike.

Hor. And he is a very ravenous one: We ſee in Ponds, that, where Pikes are ſuffer'd to be, no other Fiſh ſhall ever encreaſe in Number. But in Rivers, and all Waters near any Land, there are amphibious Fowls, and many ſorts of them, that live moſtly upon Fiſh; Of theſe Water-Fowls in many Places there are prodigious Quantities. Beſides theſe, there are Otters, Beavers, and many other Creatures that live upon Fiſh. In Brooks and ſhallow Waters, the Hearn and Bittern will have their Share: What is taken off by them, perhaps, is but little; but the young Fry, and the Spawn that one pair of Swans are able to conſume in one Year, would very well ſerve to ſtock a conſiderable River. So they are but eat, it is no matter what eats them, either their own Species or another: What I would prove, is, that Nature produces no extraordinary

dinary Numbers of any Species, but ſhe has contriv'd Means anſwerable to deſtroy them. The Variety of Inſects, in the ſeveral Parts of the World, would be incredible to any one, that has not examin'd into this matter; and the different Beauties to be obſerv'd in them is infinite: But neither the Beauty nor the Variety of 'em are more ſurprizing, than the Induſtry of Nature in the Multiplicity of her Contrivances to kill them; and if the Care and Vigilance of all other Animals, in deſtroying them, were to ceaſe at once, in two Years time the greateſt part of the Earth which is ours now would be theirs, and in many Countries Inſects would be the only Inhabitants.

Hor. I have heard that Whales live upon nothing elſe; That muſt make a fine Conſumption.

Cleo. That is the general Opinion; I ſuppoſe, becauſe they never find any Fiſh in them; and becauſe there are vaſt Multitudes of Inſects in thoſe Seas, hovering on the Surface of the Water. This Creature likewiſe helps to corroborate my Aſſertion, that in the Numbers produced of every Species, the greateſt Regard is had to the Conſumption of them: This prodigious Animal being too big to be ſwallow'd, Nature in it has quite alter'd the OEconomy obſerved in all other Fiſh; for they are viviparous, engender like other viviparous Animals, and have never above two or three

young ones at a time. For the Continuance of every Species, among ſuch an infinite Variety of Creatures, as this Globe yields; it was highly neceſſary, that the Proviſion for their Deſtruction ſhould not be leſs ample, than that, which was made for the Generation of them; and therefore the Sollicitude of Nature in procuring Death, and the Conſumption of Animals, is viſibly ſuperiour to the Care ſhe takes to feed and preſerve them.

Hor. Prove that pray.

Cleo. Millions of her Creatures are ſtarv'd every Year, and doom'd to periſh for want of Suſtenance; but whenever any dye, there is always plenty of Mouths to devour them. But then again, ſhe gives all ſhe has: Nothing is ſo fine or elaborate, as that ſhe grudges it for Food; nor is any thing more extenſive or impartial than her Bounty: She thinks nothing too good for the meaneſt of her Broods, and all Creatures are equally welcome to every thing they can find to eat. How curious is the Workmanſhip in the Structure of a common Fly; how inimitable are the Celerity of his Wings, and the Quickneſs of all his Motions in hot Weather! Should a *Pythagorean*, that was likewiſe a good Maſter in Mechanicks, by the help of a Microſcope, pry into every minute part of this changeable Creature, and duly conſider the Elegancy of its Machinery, would he not think it great pity, that thouſands of Millions of animated Beings, ſo nicely

nicely wrought and admirably finiſh'd, ſhould every Day be devour'd by little Birds and Spiders, of which we ſtand in ſo little need? Nay, don't you think yourſelf, that things would have been managed full as well, if the quantity of Flies had been leſs, and there had been no Spiders at all?

Hor. I remember the Fable of the Acorn and the Pumpkin too well to anſwer you; I don't trouble my Head about it.

Cleo. Yet you found fault with the Means, which I ſuppoſed Providence had made uſe of to make Men aſſociate; I mean the common Danger they were in from wild Beaſts: Tho' you own'd the Probability of its having been the firſt Motive of their uniting.

Hor. I cannot believe, that Providence ſhould have no greater regard to our Species, than it has to Flies, and the Spawn of Fiſh; or that Nature has ever ſported with the Fate of human Creatures, as ſhe does with the Lives of Inſects, and been as wantonly laviſh of the firſt, as ſhe ſeems to be of the latter. I wonder how you can reconcile this to Religion; you, that are ſuch a Stickler for Chriſtianity.

Cleo. Religion has nothing to do with it. But we are ſo full of our own Species, and the Excellency of it, that we have no Leiſure ſeriouſly to conſider the Syſtem of this Earth; I mean the Plan on which the OEconomy of it is built, in relation to the living Creatures, that are in and upon it.

Hor. I don't ſpeak as to our Species, but in reſpect to the Deity: Has Religion nothing to do with it, that you make God the Author of ſo much Cruelty and Malice?

Cleo. It is impoſſible, you ſhould ſpeak otherwiſe, than in relation to our Species, when you make uſe of thoſe Expreſſions, which can only ſignify to us the Intentions things were done with, or the Sentiments human Creatures have of them; and nothing can be call'd cruel, or malicious, in regard to him who did it, unleſs his Thoughts and Deſigns were ſuch in doing it. All Actions in Nature, abſtractly conſider'd, are equally indifferent; and whatever it may be to individual Creatures, to die is not a greater Evil to this Earth, or the whole Univerſe, than it is to be born.

Hor. This is making the Firſt Cauſe of Things not an Intelligent Being.

Cleo. Why ſo? Can you not conceive an Intelligent, and even a moſt Wiſe Being, that is not only exempt from, but likewiſe incapable of entertaining, any Malice or Cruelty?

Hor. Such a Being could not commit or order Things, that are malicious and cruel.

Cleo. Neither does God. But this will carry us into a Diſpute about the Origin of Evil; and from thence we muſt inevitably fall on Free-Will and Predeſtination, which, as I have told you before, is an inexplicable Myſtery, I will never meddle with. But I never ſaid nor thought any thing irreverent to the Deity:

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On the contrary, the Idea I have of the Supreme Being, is as tranſcendently great, as my Capacity is able to form one, of what is incomprehenſible; and I could as ſoon believe, that he could ceaſe to exiſt, as that he ſhould be the Author of any real Evil. But I ſhould be glad to hear the Method, after which you think Society might have been much better introduced: Pray, acquaint me with that milder way you ſpoke of.

Hor. You have thoroughly convinced me, that the natural Love, which it is pretended, we have for our Species, is not greater, than what many other Animals have for theirs: But if Nature had actually given us an Affection for one another, as ſincere, and conſpicuous, as that, which Parents are ſeen to have for their Children, whilſt they are helpleſs, Men would have joyn'd together by Choice; and nothing could have hindred them from aſſociating, whether their Numbers had been great or ſmall, and themſelves either ignorant, or knowing.

Cleo. O mentes hominum cæcas! O Pectora cæca!

Hor. You may exclaim as much as you pleaſe; I am perſuaded, that this would have united Men in firmer Bonds of Friendſhip, than any common Danger from wild Beaſts could have tied them with: But what Fault can you find with it, and what Miſchief could have befaln us from mutual Affection?

Cleo. It would have been inconſiſtent with the Scheme, the Plan after which, it is evident, Providence has been pleas'd to order and diſpoſe of things in the Univerſe. If ſuch an Affection had been planted in Man by Inſtinct, there never could have been any fatal Quarrels among them, nor mortal Hatreds; Men could never have been cruel to one another: In ſhort, there could have been no Wars of any duration; and no conſiderable Numbers of our Species could ever have been kill'd by one another's Malice.

Hor. You'd make a rare State-Phyſician, in preſcribing War, Cruelty and Malice, for the Welfare and Maintenance of civil Society.

Cleo. Pray, don't miſrepreſent me: I have done no ſuch thing: But if you believe the World is govern'd by Providence at all, you muſt believe likewiſe, that the Deity makes uſe of Means to bring about, perform, and execute his Will and Pleaſure: As for Example, to have War kindled, there muſt be firſt Miſunderſtandings and Quarrels between the Subjects of different Nations, and Diſſentions among the reſpective Princes, Rulers, or Governours of them: It is evident, that the Mind of Man is the general Mint, where the Means of this ſort muſt be coin'd; from whence I conclude, that if Providence had order'd Matters after that mild way, which you think would have been the beſt, very little of humane Blood could have been ſpilt, if any at all.

Hor.

Hor. Where would have been the Inconveniency of that?

Cleo. You could not have had that Variety of living Creatures, there is now; nay, there would not have been Room for Man himſelf, and his Suſtenance: Our Species alone would have overſtock'd the Earth, if there had been no Wars, and the common Courſe of Providence had not been more interrupted than it has been. Might I not juſtly ſay then, that this is quite contrary and deſtructive to the Scheme, on which it is plain this Earth was built? This is a Conſideration which you will never give its due Weight. I have once already put you in mind of it, that you yourſelf have allow'd the Deſtruction of Animals to be as neceſſary as the Generation of them. There is as much Wiſdom to be ſeen in the Contrivances, how Numbers of living Creatures might always be taken off and deſtroy'd, to make room for thoſe that continually ſucceed them, as there is in making all the different ſorts of them every one preſerve their own Species. What do you think is the reaſon, that there is but one Way for us to come into the World?

Hor. Becauſe that one is ſufficient.

Cleo. Then from a Parity of reaſon, we ought to think, that there are ſeveral Ways to go out of the World, becauſe one would not have been ſufficient. Now, if for the Support and Maintenance of that variety of Crea-

tures which are here, that they ſhould die, is a *poſtulatum* as neceſſary as it is, that they ſhould be born; and you cut off or obſtruct the means of dying, and actually ſtop up one of the great Gates, through which we ſee Multitudes go to Death; do you not oppoſe the Scheme, nay do you mar it leſs, than if you hinder'd Generation? If there never had been War, and no other means of dying, beſides the ordinary ones, this Globe could not have born, or at leaſt not maintain'd, the tenth part of the People that would have been in it. By War, I don't mean only ſuch as one Nation has had againſt another, but civil as well as foreign Quarrels, general Maſſacres, private Murders, Poyſon, Sword, and all hoſtile Force, by which Men, notwithſtanding their Pretence of Love to their Species, have endeavour'd to take away one another's Lives throughout the World, from the time that *Cain* ſlew *Abel*, to this Day.

Hor. I don't believe, that a quarter of all theſe Miſchiefs are upon Record; but what may be known from Hiſtory, would make a prodigious Number of Men; much greater, I dare ſay, than ever was on this Earth at one time: But what would you infer from this? They would not have been immortal; and if they had not died in War, they muſt ſoon after have been ſlain by Diſeaſes. When a Man of threeſcore is kill'd by a Bullet in the Field, it is odds, that he would not have lived

four

four Years longer, tho' he had ſtay'd at Home.

Cleo. There are Soldiers of threeſcore perhaps in all Armies, but Men generally go to the War when they are young; and when four or five thouſand are loſt in Battle, you'll find the greateſt Number to have been under five and thirty: Conſider now, that many Men do not marry till after that Age, who get ten or a dozen Children.

Hor. If all, that die by the Hands of another, were to get a dozen Children before they die——

Cleo. There is no Occaſion for that; I ſuppoſe nothing, that is either extravagant or improbable; but that all ſuch, as have been wilfully deſtroy'd by means of their Species, ſhould have lived, and taken their Chance with the reſt; that every thing ſhould have befaln them, that has befaln thoſe that have not been kill'd that way; and the ſame likewiſe to their Poſterity; and that all of them ſhould have been ſubject to all the Caſualties as well as Diſeaſes, Doctors, Apothecaries, and other Accidents, that take away Man's Life, and ſhorten his Days; War, and Violence from one another, only excepted.

Hor. But if the Earth had been too full of Inhabitants, might not Providence have ſent Peſtilences and Diſeaſes oftener? More Children might have died when they were young, or more Women might have proved barren.

Cleo.

Cleo. I don't know whether your mild way would have been more generally pleasing; but you entertain Notions of the Deity that are unworthy of him. Men might certainly have been born with the Instinct you speak of; but if this had been the Creator's Pleasure, there must have been another OEconomy; and things on Earth, from the beginning, would have been ordered in a manner quite different from what they are now. But to make a Scheme first, and afterwards to mend it, when it proves defective, is the Business of finite Wisdom: It belongs to human Providence alone to mend Faults, to correct and redress what was done amiss before, and to alter the Measures which, Experience teaches Men, were ill concerted: But the Knowledge of God was consummate from Eternity. Infinite Wisdom is not liable to Errors or Mistakes; therefore all his Works are universally good, and every thing is made exactly as he would have it; The firmness and stability of his Laws and Councils are everlasting, and therefore his Resolutions are as unalterable, as his Decrees are eternal. It is not a quarter of an Hour ago, that you named Wars among the necessary Means to carry off the Redundancy of our Species; how come you now to think them useless? I can demonstrate to you, that Nature, in the Production of our Species, has amply provided against the Losses of our Sex, occasioned by Wars, by repairing them visibly

bly, where they are ſuſtained, in as palpable a manner, as ſhe has provided for the great Deſtruction that is made of Fiſh, by their devouring one another.

Hor. How is that, pray?

Cleo. By ſending more Males into the World than Females. You will eaſily allow me, that our Sex bears the Brunt of all the Toils and Hazards that are undergone by Sea and Land; and that by this means a far greater Number of Men muſt be deſtroy'd, than there is of Women: Now if we ſee, as certainly we do, that of the Infants yearly born, the Number of Males is always conſiderably ſuperior to that of the Females, is it not manifeſt, that Nature has made a Proviſion for great Multitudes, which, if they were not deſtroy'd, would be not only ſuperfluous, but of pernicious Conſequence, in great Nations?

Hor. That Superiority in the Number of Males born is wonderful indeed; I remember the Account that has been publiſh'd concerning it, as it was taken from the Bills of Births and Burials in the City and Suburbs.

Cleo. For fourſcore Years; in which the Number of Females born was conſtantly much inferior to that of the Males, ſometimes by many Hundreds: And that this Proviſion of Nature, to ſupply the Havock that is made of Men by Wars and Navigation, is ſtill greater than could be imagin'd from that Difference only, will ſoon appear, if we conſider that

Women,

Women, in the firſt Place, are liable to all Diſeaſes, within a Trifle, that are incident to Men; and that, in the ſecond, they are ſubject to many Diſorders and Calamities on account of their Sex, which great Numbers die of, and which Men are wholly exempt from.

Hor. This could not well be the Effect of Chance; but it ſpoils the Conſequence which you drew from my affectionate Scheme, in caſe there had been no Wars: For your Fear, that our Species would have encreaſed beyond all Bounds, was entirely built upon the Suppoſition, that thoſe who have died in War ſhould not have wanted Women, if they had lived; which, from this Superiority in the Number of Males, it is evident, they ſhould and muſt have wanted.

Cleo. What you obſerve is true; but my chief Aim was to ſhew you, how diſagreeable the Alteration, you required, would have been every way to the reſt of the Scheme, by which it is manifeſt things are govern'd at preſent. For if the Proviſion had been made on the other ſide; and Nature, in the Production of our Species, had continually taken Care to repair the Loſs of Women, that die of Calamities not incident to Men, then certainly there would have been Women for all the Men, that have been deſtroy'd by their own Species, if they had lived; and the Earth, without War, as I have ſaid, would have been over-ſtocked; or if Nature had ever been

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the ſame as ſhe is now, that is, if more Males had been born than Females, and more Females had died of Diſeaſes than Males, the World would conſtantly have had a great Superfluity of Men, if there never had been any Wars; and this diſproportion between their number and that of the Women, would have cauſed innumerable Miſchiefs, that are now prevented by no other natural Cauſes, than the ſmall Value Men ſet upon their Species, and their Diſſentions with one another.

Hor. I can ſee no other miſchief this would produce, than that the number of Males, which die without having ever tried Matrimony, would be greater than it is now; and whether that would be a real Evil or not, is a very diſputable Point.

Cleo. Don't you think, that this perpetual Scarcity of Women, and Superfluity of Men, would make great Uneaſineſs in all Societies, how well ſoever People might love one another; and that the Value, the Price of Women, would be ſo inhanced by it, that none but Men in tolerable good Circumſtances would be able to purchaſe them? This alone would make us another World; and Mankind could never have known that moſt neceſſary and now inexhauſtible Spring, from which all Nations, where Slaves are not allow'd of, are conſtantly ſupply'd with willing Hands for all the Drudgery of hard and dirty Labour; I mean the Children of the Poor, the greateſt

eſt and moſt extenſive of all temporal Bleſſings that accrue from Society, on which all the Comforts of Life, in the civilis'd State, have their unavoidable dependance. There are many other things, from which it is plain, that ſuch a real Love of Man for his Species would have been altogether inconſiſtent with the preſent Scheme; the World muſt have been deſtitute of all that Induſtry, that is owing to Envy and Emulation; no Society could have been eaſy with being a flouriſhing People, at the Expence of their Neighbours, or enduring to be counted a formidable Nation. All Men would have been Levellers, Government would have been unneceſſary, and there could have been no great Buſtle in the World. Look into the Men of greateſt Renown, and the moſt celebrated Atchievements of Antiquity, and every thing that has been cried up, and admired in paſt Ages, by the faſhionable part of Mankind; If the ſame Labours were to be perform'd over again, which Qualification, which help of Nature do you think, would be the moſt proper means to have them executed; that Inſtinct of real Affection, you required, without Ambition or the Love of Glory; or a ſtanch Principle of Pride and Selfiſhneſs, acting under Pretence to, and aſſuming the Reſemblance of, that Affection? Conſider, I beſeech you, that no Men governed by this Inſtinct, would require Services of any of their Species, which they

they would not be ready to perform for others; and you will eaſily ſee, that its being univerſal would quite alter the Scene of Society from what it is now. Such an Inſtinct might be very ſuitable to another Scheme different from this, in another World; where inſtead of Ficklenes, and a reſtleſs deſire after Changes and Novelty, there was obſerv'd an univerſal Steadineſs continually preſerv'd by a ſerene Spirit of Contentment, among other Creatures of different Appetites from ours, that had Frugality without Avarice, and Generoſity without Pride; and whoſe Sollicitude after Happineſs in a future State, was as active and apparent in Life, as our Purſuits are after the Enjoyments of this preſent. But as to the World we live in, examine into the various ways of earthly Greatneſs, and all the Engines that are made uſe of to attain to the Felicity of carnal Men, and you'll find, that the Inſtinct you ſpeak of, muſt have deſtroy'd the Principles, and prevented the very Exiſtence of that Pomp and Glory, to which human Societies have been, and are ſtill raiſed by worldly Wiſdom.

Hor. I give up my affectionate Scheme; you have convinced me, that there could not have been that Stir and Variety, nor, upon the whole, that Beauty in the World, which there have been, if all Men had been naturally Humble, Good, and Virtuous. I believe

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that Wars of all ſorts, as well as Diſeaſes, are natural Means to hinder Mankind from encreaſing too faſt; but that wild Beaſts ſhould likewiſe have been deſign'd to thin our Species, I cannot conceive; for they can only ſerve this End, when Men are but few, and their numbers ſhould be encreas'd, inſtead of leſſen'd; and afterwards, if they were made for that purpoſe, when Men are ſtrong enough, they would not anſwer it.

Cleo. I never ſaid, that wild Beaſts were deſign'd to thin our Species. I have ſhew'd, that many things were made to ſerve a variety of different Purpoſes; that in the Scheme of this Earth, many things muſt have been conſider'd, that Man has nothing to do with; and that it is ridiculous to think, that the Univerſe was made for our ſake. I have ſaid likewiſe, that as all our Knowledge comes *à poſteriori*, it is imprudent to reaſon otherwiſe than from Facts. That there are wild Beaſts, and that there are ſavage Men, is certain; and that where there are but few of the latter, the firſt muſt always be very troubleſome, and often fatal to them, is as certain; and when I reflect on the Paſſions, all Men are born with, and their Incapacity, whilſt they are untaught; I can find no Cauſe or Motive, which is ſo likely to unite them together, and make them eſpouſe the ſame Intereſt, as that common Danger they muſt always be in from wild

wild Beaſts, in uncultivated Countries; whilſt they live in ſmall Families, that all ſhift for themſelves, without Government or Dependance upon one another: This firſt Step to Society, I believe to be an Effect; which that ſame Cauſe, the common Danger ſo often mentioned, will never fail to produce upon our Species in ſuch Circumſtances: What other, and how many Purpoſes wild Beaſts might have been deſign'd for beſides, I don't pretend to determine, as I have told you before.

Hor. But whatever other Purpoſes wild Beaſts were deſign'd for, it ſtill follows from your Opinion, that the uniting of Savages in common Defence, muſt have been one; which to me ſeems claſhing with our Idea of the Divine Goodneſs.

Cleo. So will every thing ſeem to do, which we call Natural Evil; if you aſcribe human Paſſions to the Deity, and meaſure infinite Wiſdom by the Standard of our moſt ſhallow Capacity: You have been at this twice already; I thought I had anſwer'd it. I would not make God the Author of Evil, any more than yourſelf; but I am likewiſe perſuaded, that nothing could come by Chance, in reſpect to the ſupreme Being; and therefore, unleſs you imagine the World not to be govern'd by Providence, you muſt believe, that Wars, and all the Calamities we can ſuffer from Man or Beaſt, as well as Plagues and all other Diſ-

eaſes, are under a wiſe Direction that is unfathomable. As there can be no Effect without a Cauſe, ſo nothing can be ſaid to happen by Chance, but in reſpect to him who is ignorant of the Cauſe of it. I can make this evident to you, in an obvious and familiar Example. To a Man, who knows nothing of the Tennis-Court, the Skips and Rebounds of the Ball ſeem to be all fortuitous; as he is not able to gueſs at the ſeveral different Directions it will receive, before it comes to the Ground; ſo, as ſoon as it has hit the Place, to which it was plainly directed at firſt, it is Chance to him where it will fall: whereas the experienced Player, knowing perfectly well the Journey the Ball will make, goes directly to the Place, if he is not there already, where it will certainly come within his Reach. Nothing ſeems to be more the Effect of Chance than a Caſt of the Dice: yet they obey the Laws of Gravity and Motion in general, as much as any thing elſe; and from the Impreſſions that are given them, it is impoſſible they ſhould fall otherwiſe than they do: but the various Directions which they ſhall receive in the whole Courſe of the Throw being entirely unknown, and the Rapidity with which they change their Situation being ſuch, that our ſlow Apprehenſion cannot trace them, what the Caſt will be is a Myſtery to human Underſtanding, at fair Play. But if the ſame Variety of Directions was

given

given to two Cubes of ten Feet each, which a Pair of Dice receive as well from one another as the Box, the Caſter's Fingers that cover it, and the Table they are flung upon, from the time they are taken up 'till they lye ſtill, the ſame Effect would follow; and if the Quantity of Motion, the Force that is imparted to the Box and Dice was exactly known, and the Motion itſelf was ſo much retarded in the Performance, that what is done in three or four ſeconds, ſhould take up an Hour's time, it would be eaſy to find out the Reaſon of every Throw, and Men might learn with Certainty to foretell which Side of the Cube would be uppermoſt. It is evident then, that the Words *fortuitous* and *caſual*, have no other meaning, than what depends upon our want of Knowledge, Foreſight and Penetration; the Reflection on which will ſhew us, by what an Infinity of Degrees all human Capacity falls ſhort of that univerſal *intuitus*, with which the ſupreme Being beholds at once every thing without Exception, whether to us it be viſible or inviſible, paſt, preſent, or to come.

Hor. I yield: You have ſolved every Difficulty I have been able to raiſe; and I muſt confeſs, that your Suppoſition concerning the firſt Motive, that would make Savages aſſociate, is neither claſhing with good Senſe, nor any Idea we ought to have of the Divine Attributes; but on the contrary, in anſwering my

Objections, you have demonſtrated the Probability of your Conjecture, and rendred the Wiſdom and Power of Providence, in the Scheme of this Earth, both as to the Contrivance and the Execution of it, more conſpicuous and palpable to me, than any thing I ever heard or read, had done before.

Cleo. I am glad you are ſatisfied; tho' far from arrogating to my ſelf ſo much Merit as your Civility would compliment me with.

Hor. It is very clear to me now; that as it is appointed for all Men to die, ſo it is neceſſary there ſhould be Means to compaſs this End; that from the Number of thoſe Means, or Cauſes of Death, it is impoſſible to exclude either the Malice of Men, or the Rage of wild Beaſts, and all noxious Animals; and that, if they had been actually deſign'd by Nature, and contriv'd for that Purpoſe, we ſhould have no more Reaſon juſtly to complain of them, than we have to find fault with Death itſelf, or that frightful Train of Diſeaſes, which are daily and hourly the manifeſt occaſion of it.

Cleo. They are all equally included in the Curſe, which after the *Fall* was deſervedly pronounc'd againſt the whole Earth; and if they be real Evils, they are to be look'd upon as the Conſequence of Sin, and a condign Puniſhment, which the Tranſgreſſion of our firſt Parents has drawn and entail'd upon all their Poſterity. I am fully perſuaded, that

all the Nations in the World, and every Individual of our Species, civilis'd or ſavage, had their Origin from *Seth*, *Cham*, or *Japhet*: and as Experience has taught us, that the greateſt Empires have their Periods, and the beſt govern'd States and Kingdoms may come to Ruin; ſo it is certain, that the politeſt People by being ſcatter'd and diſtreſs'd, may ſoon degenerate, and ſome of them by Accidents and Misfortunes, from knowing and well taught Anceſtors, be reduced at laſt to Savages of the firſt and loweſt Claſs.

Hor. If what you are fully perſuaded of, be true, the other is ſelf-evident, from the Savages that are ſtill ſubſiſting.

Cleo. You once ſeem'd to inſinuate, that all the Danger Men were in from wild Beaſts, would entirely ceaſe, as ſoon as they were civiliz'd, and lived in large and well-ordered Societies; but by this you may ſee, that our Species will never be wholly exempt from that Danger; becauſe Mankind will always be liable to be reduced to Savages; for as this Calamity has actually befallen vaſt Multitudes that were the undoubted Deſcendants of *Noah*; ſo the greateſt Prince upon Earth, that has Children, cannot be ſure, that the ſame Diſaſter will never happen to any of his Poſterity. Wild Beaſts may be entirely extirpated in ſome Countries, that are duly cultivated; but they will multiply in others, that are wholly neglected; and great Numbers of them range

now, and are Maſters in many Places, where they had been routed and kept out before. I ſhall always believe, that every Species of living Creatures in and upon this Globe, without Exception, continues to be, as it was at firſt, under the Care of that ſame Providence, that thought fit to produce it. You have had a great deal of Patience, but I would not tire it: This firſt Step towards Society, now we have maſter'd it, is a good Reſting-place, and ſo we'll leave off for to-day.

Hor. With all my Heart; I have made you talk a great deal; but I long to hear the reſt, as ſoon as you are at leiſure.

Cleo. I am obliged to dine at *Windſor* to-morrow; if you are not otherwiſe engaged, I can carry you, where the Honour of your Company will be highly eſteem'd: My Coach ſhall be ready at Nine; you know you are in my way.

Hor. A fine Opportunity indeed of three or four Hours Chat.

Cleo. I ſhall be all alone, without you.

Hor. I am your Man, and ſhall expect you.

Cleo. Adieu.

THE

THE SIXTH

DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

Horatio, and *Cleomenes*.

HORATIO.

NOW we are off the Stones, pray let us loſe no time; I expect a great deal of Pleaſure from what I am to hear further.

Cleo. The ſecond Step to Society, is the Danger Men are in from one another: for which we are beholden to that ſtanch Principle of Pride and Ambition, that all Men are born with. Different Families may endeavour to live together, and be ready to join in common Danger; but they are all of little uſe to one another, when there is no common Enemy to oppoſe. If we conſider, that Strength, Agility, and Courage would in ſuch a State be the moſt valuable Qualifications, and that many Families could not live long

together, but ſome, actuated by the Principle I named, would ſtrive for Superiority: this muſt breed Quarrels, in which the moſt weak and fearful will, for their own Safety, always join with him, of whom they have the beſt Opinion.

Hor. This would naturally divide Multitudes into Bands and Companies, that would all have their different Leaders, and of which the ſtrongeſt and moſt valiant would always ſwallow up the weakeſt and moſt fearful.

Cleo. What you ſay agrees exactly with the Accounts we have of the unciviliz'd Nations, that are ſtill ſubſiſting in the World; and thus Men may live miſerably many Ages.

Hor. The very firſt Generation, that was brought up under the Tuition of Parents, would be governable: and would not every ſucceeding Generation grow wiſer than the foregoing?

Cleo. Without doubt they would encreaſe in Knowledge and Cunning: Time and Experience would have the ſame effect upon them as it has upon others; and in the particular things, to which they apply'd themſelves, they would become as expert and ingenious as the moſt civiliz'd Nations: But their unruly Paſſions, and the Diſcords occaſioned by them, would never ſuffer them to be happy; their mutual Contentions would be continually ſpoiling their Improvements, deſtroying their Inventions, and fruſtrating their Deſigns.

Hor.

Hor. But would not their Sufferings in time bring them acquainted with the Cauſes of their Diſagreement; and would not that Knowledge put them upon making of Contracts, not to injure one another?

Cleo. Very probably they would; but among ſuch ill-bred and uncultivated People, no Man would keep a Contract longer than that Intereſt laſted, which made him ſubmit to it.

Hor. But might not Religion, the Fear of an inviſible Cauſe, be made ſerviceable to them, as to the keeping of their Contracts?

Cleo. It might, without diſpute; and would before many Generations paſſed away. But Religion could do no more among them, than it does among civilis'd Nations; where the Divine Vengeance is ſeldom truſted to only, and Oaths themſelves are thought to be of little Service, where there is no human Power to enforce the Obligation, and puniſh Perjury.

Hor. But don't you think, that the ſame Ambition that made a Man aſpire to be a Leader, would make him likewiſe deſirous of being obey'd in civil Matters, by the Numbers he led?

Cleo. I do; and moreover that, notwithſtanding this unſettled and precarious way Communities would live in, after three or four Generations human Nature would be look'd into, and begin to be underſtood: Leaders would find out, that the more Strife and

and Diſcord there was amongſt the People they headed, the leſs uſe they could make of them: this would put them upon various ways of curbing Mankind; they would forbid killing and ſtriking one another; the taking away by force the Wives, or Children of others in the ſame Community: they would invent Penalties, and very early find out, that no body ought to be a Judge in his own Cauſe; and that old Men, generally ſpeaking, knew more than young.

Hor. When once they have Prohibitions and Penalties, I ſhould think all the Difficulty ſurmounted; and I wonder why you ſaid, that thus they might live miſerably for many Ages.

Cleo. There is one thing of great moment, which has not been named yet; and 'till that comes to paſs, no conſiderable Numbers can ever be made happy: What ſignify the ſtrongeſt Contracts, when we have nothing to ſhew for them; and what Dependance can we have upon oral Tradition, in Matters that require Exactneſs; eſpecially whilſt the Language that is ſpoken is yet very imperfect? Verbal Reports are liable to a thouſand Cavils and Diſputes, that are prevented by Records, which every body knows to be unerring Witneſſes; and from the many Attempts that are made to wreſt and diſtort the Senſe of even written Laws, we may judge, how impracticable the Adminiſtration of Juſtice muſt be among

among all Societies that are deſtitute of them. Therefore the third and laſt Step to Society is the Invention of Letters. No Multitudes can live peaceably without Government; no Government can ſubſiſt without Laws; and no Laws can be effectual long, unleſs they are wrote down: The Conſideration of this is alone ſufficient to give us a great Inſight into the Nature of Man.

Hor. I don't think ſo: The Reaſon why no Government can ſubſiſt without Laws is, becauſe there are bad Men in all Multitudes; but to take Patterns from them, when we would judge of human Nature, rather than from the good ones that follow the Dictates of their Reaſon, is an Injuſtice one would not be guilty of to brute Beaſts; and it would be very wrong in us, for a few vicious Horſes, to condemn the whole Species as ſuch, without taking notice of the many fine-ſpirited Creatures, that are naturally tame and gentle.

Cleo. At this rate I muſt repeat every thing that I have ſaid Yeſterday and the Day before: I thought you was convinced, that it was with Thought as it is with Speech; and that, tho' Man was born with a Capacity beyond other Animals, to attain to both, yet, whilſt he remain'd untaught, and never converſed with any of his Species, theſe Characteriſticks were of little uſe to him. All Men uninſtructed, whilſt they are let alone, will follow the Impulſe of their Nature, without regard to o-

thers; and therefore all of them are bad, that are not taught to be good: ſo all Horſes are ungovernable that are not well broken: for what we call vicious in them, is, when they bite or kick, endeavour to break their Halter, throw their Rider, and exert themſelves with all their Strength to ſhake off the Yoke, and recover that Liberty which Nature prompts them to aſſert and deſire. What you call Natural, is evidently Artificial, and belongs to Education: no fine-ſpirited Horſe was ever tame or gentle, without Management. Some perhaps are not back'd, 'till they are four Years old, but then long before that time they are handled, ſpoke to, and dreſs'd; they are fed by their Keepers, put under reſtraint, ſometimes careſs'd, and ſometimes made to ſmart; and nothing is omitted, whilſt they are young, to inſpire them with Awe and Veneration to our Species; and make them not only ſubmit to it, but likewiſe take a Pride in obeying the ſuperior Genius of Man. But would you judge of the Nature of Horſes in general, as to its Fitneſs to be govern'd, take the Foals of the beſt-bred Mares and fineſt Stallions, and turn an hundred of them looſe, Fillys and Colts together, in a large Foreſt, till they are ſeven Years old, and then ſee how tractable they will be.

Hor. But this is never done.

Cleo. Whoſe Fault is that? It is not at the Requeſt of the Horſes, that they are kept from

from the Mares; and that any of them are ever gentle or tame, is entirely owing to the Management of Man. Vice proceeds from the ſame Origin in Men, as it does in Horſes; the Deſire of uncontroul'd Liberty, and Impatience of Reſtraint, are not more viſible in the one, than they are in the other; and a Man is then call'd vicious, when, breaking the Curb of Precepts and Prohibitions, he wildly follows the unbridled Appetites of his untaught or ill-managed Nature. The Complaints againſt this Nature of ours, are every where the ſame: Man would have every thing he likes, without conſidering, whether he has any Right to it or not; and he would do every thing he has a mind to do, without regard to the Conſequence it would be of to others; at the ſame time that he diſlikes every Body, that, acting from the ſame Principle, have in all their Behaviour not a ſpecial Regard to him.

Hor. That is, in ſhort, Man naturally will not do, as he would be done by.

Cleo. That's true; and for this, there is another Reaſon in his Nature: All Men are partial in their Judgments, when they compare themſelves to others; no two Equals think ſo well of each other, as both do of themſelves; and where all Men have an equal Right to judge, there needs no greater Cauſe of Quarrel, than a Preſent amongſt them with an Inſcription of *detur digniori*. Man in his Anger behaves

behaves himſelf in the ſame manner as other Animals; diſturbing, in the Purſuit of Self-preſervation, thoſe they are angry with; and all of them endeavour, according as the degree of their Paſſion is, either to deſtroy, or cauſe Pain and Diſpleaſure to their Adverſaries. That theſe Obſtacles to Society are the Faults, or rather Properties of our Nature, we may know by this, that all Regulations and Prohibitions, that have been contriv'd for the temporal Happineſs of Mankind, are made exactly to tally with them, and to obviate thoſe Complaints, which I ſaid were every where made againſt Mankind. The principal Laws of all Countries have the ſame Tendency; and there is not one, that does not point at ſome Frailty, Defect, or Unfitneſs for Society, that Men are naturally ſubject to; but all of them are plainly deſign'd as ſo many Remedies, to cure and diſappoint that natural Inſtinct of Sovereignty, which teaches Man to look upon every thing as centring in himſelf, and prompts him to put in a Claim to every thing, he can lay his Hands on. This Tendency and Deſign to mend our Nature for the temporal Good of Society, is no where more viſible, than in that compendious as well as complete Body of Laws, that was given by God himſelf. The *Iſraelites*, whilſt they were Slaves in *Ægypt*, were govern'd by the Laws of their Maſters; and as they were many degrees remov'd from the loweſt Savages;

vages, ſo they were yet far from being a civiliz'd Nation. It is reaſonable to think, that, before they receiv'd the Law of God, they had Regulations and Agreements already eſtabliſh'd, which the Ten Commandments did not aboliſh; and that they muſt have had Notions of Right and Wrong, and Contracts among them againſt open Violence, and the Invaſion of Property, is demonſtrable.

Hor. How is that demonſtrable?

Cleo. From the Decalogue itſelf: All wiſe Laws are adapted to the People that are to obey them. From the ninth Commandment, for Example, it is evident, that a Man's own Teſtimony was not ſufficient to be believ'd in his own Affair, and that no Body was allow'd to be a Judge in his own Caſe.

Hor. It only forbids us to bear falſe Witneſs againſt our Neighbour.

Cleo. That's true; and therefore the whole Tenor and Deſign of this Commandment preſuppoſes, and muſt imply what I ſay. But the Prohibitions of Stealing, Adultery, and coveting any thing that belong'd to their Neighbours, are ſtill more plainly intimating the ſame; and ſeem to be Additions and Amendments, to ſupply the Defects of ſome known Regulations and Contracts, that had been agreed upon before. If in this View we behold the three Commandments laſt hinted at, we ſhall find them to be ſtrong Evidences, not only of that Inſtinct of Sovereignty within

in us, which at other times I have called a domineering Spirit, and a Principle of Selfiſhneſs; but likewiſe of the difficulty there is to deſtroy, eradicate and pull it out of the Heart of Man: For from the eighth Commandment it appears, that, tho' we debar ourſelves from taking the Things of our Neighbour by Force, yet there is Danger that this Inſtinct will prompt us to get them unknown to him in a clandeſtine Manner, and deceive us with the Inſinuations of an *oportet habere*. From the foregoing Precept, it is likewiſe manifeſt, that tho' we agree not to take away, and rob a Man of the Woman that is his own, it is yet to be fear'd, that if we like her, this innate Principle, that bids us gratify every Appetite, will adviſe us to make Uſe of her, as if ſhe was our own; tho' our Neighbour is at the Charge of maintaining her, and all the Children ſhe brings forth. The laſt more eſpecially is very ample in confirming my Aſſertion. It ſtrikes directly at the Root of the Evil, and lays open the real Source of the Miſchiefs that are apprehended in the ſeventh and the eighth Commandment: For without firſt actually treſpaſſing againſt this, no Man is in Danger of breaking either of the former. This tenth Commandment moreover inſinuates very plainly; in the firſt place, that this Inſtinct of ours is of great Power, and a Frailty hardly to be cured; in the Second, that there is nothing, which our Neighbour can be

be poſſeſs'd of; but, neglecting the Conſideration of Juſtice and Property, we may have a Deſire after it; for which Reaſon it abſolutely forbids us to covet any thing that is *His*: The Divine Wiſdom well knowing the Strength of this ſelfiſh Principle, which obliges us continually to aſſume every thing to ourſelves; and that, when once a Man heartily covets a thing, this Inſtinct, this Principle, will overrule and perſuade him to leave no Stone unturn'd, to compaſs his Deſires.

Hor. According to your way of expounding the Commandments, and making them tally ſo exactly with the Frailties of our Nature, it ſhould follow from the Ninth, that all Men are born with a ſtrong Appetite to forſwear themſelves; which I never heard before.

Cleo. Nor I neither; and I confeſs, that the Rebuke there is, in this ſmart Turn of yours, is very plauſible; but the Cenſure, how ſpecious ſoever it may appear, is unjuſt; and you ſhall not find the Conſequence you hint at, if you will be pleas'd to diſtinguiſh between the natural Appetites themſelves, and the various Crimes which they make us commit, rather than not be obey'd: For tho' we are born with no immediate Appetite to forſwear ourſelves, yet we are born with more than one, that, if never check'd, may in time oblige us to forſwear ourſelves, or do worſe, if it be poſſible, and they cannot be gratify'd without it; and

the Commandment you mention, plainly implies, that by Nature we are ſo unreaſonably attach'd to our Intereſt, on all Emergencies; that it is poſſible for a Man to be ſway'd by it, not only to the viſible Detriment of others, as is manifeſt from the Seventh and the Eighth, but even, tho' it ſhould be againſt his own Conſcience: For no Body did ever knowingly bear falſe Witneſs againſt his Neighbour, but he did it for ſome End or other; this End, whatever it is, I call his Intereſt. The Law which forbids Murder, had already demonſtrated to us, how immenſely we undervalue every thing, when it comes in Competition with ourſelves; for, tho' our greateſt Dread be Deſtruction, and we know no other Calamity, equal to the Diſſolution of our Being, yet ſuch unequitable Judges this Inſtinct of Sovereignty is able to make us, that rather than not have our Will, which we count our Happineſs, we chuſe to inflict this Calamity on others, and bring total Ruin on ſuch, as we think to be Obſtacles to the Gratification of our Appetites; and this Men do, not only for Hindrances that are preſent, or apprehended as to come, but likewiſe for former Offences, and Things that are paſt redreſs.

Hor. By what you ſaid laſt, you mean Revenge, I ſuppoſe.

Cleo. I do ſo; and the Inſtinct of Sovereignty, which I aſſert to be in humane Nature, is in nothing ſo glaringly conſpicuous as it is in this

this Paſſion, which no mere Man was ever born without, and which even the moſt Civiliz'd, as well as the moſt Learned, are ſeldom able to conquer: For whoever pretends to revenge himſelf, muſt claim a Right to a Judicature within, and an Authority to puniſh: Which, being deſtructive to the mutual Peace of all Multitudes, are for that Reaſon the firſt things, that in every civil Society are ſnatch'd away out of every Man's Hands, as dangerous Tools, and veſted in the governing part, the Supreme Power only.

Hor. This Remark on Revenge has convinced me more, than any thing you have ſaid yet, that there is ſome ſuch thing as a Principle of Sovereignty in our Nature; but I cannot conceive yet, why the Vices of private, I mean particular, Perſons ſhould be thought to belong to the whole Species.

Cleo. Becauſe every body is liable to fall into the Vices, that are peculiar to his Species; and it is with them, as it is with Diſtempers among Creatures of different Kinds: There are many Ailments that Horſes are ſubject to, which are not incident to Cows. There is no Vice, but whoever commits it, had within him, before he was guilty of it, a Tendency towards it, a latent Cauſe that diſpoſed him to it: Therefore all Lawgivers have two main Points to conſider, at ſetting out; firſt, what things will procure Happineſs to the Society under their Care; ſecondly, what Paſſions

and Properties there are in Man's Nature, that may either promote or obſtruct this Happineſs. It is Prudence to watch your Fiſh-Ponds againſt the Inſults of Hearns and Bitterns; but the ſame Precaution would be ridiculous againſt Turkies and Peacocks, or any other Creatures, that neither love Fiſh, nor are able to catch them.

Hor. What Frailty or Defect is it in our Nature that the two firſt Commandments have a Regard to, or as you call it tally with?

Cleo. Our natural Blindneſs and Ignorance of the true Deity: For tho' we all come into the World with an Inſtinct toward Religion, that manifeſts it ſelf before we come to Maturity; yet the Fear of an inviſible Cauſe, or inviſible Cauſes, which all Men are born with, is not more univerſal, than the Uncertainty which all untaught Men fluctuate in, as to the Nature and Properties of that Cauſe, or thoſe Cauſes: There can be no greater Proof of this——

Hor. I want none; the Hiſtory of all Ages is a ſufficient Witneſs.

Cleo. Give me Leave: There can, I ſay, be no greater Proof of this, than the ſecond Commandment, which palpably points at all the Abſurdities and Abominations, which the ill-guided Fear of an inviſible Cauſe had already made, and would ſtill continue to make Men commit; and in doing this, I can hardly think, that any thing but Divine Wiſdom could

could in ſo few Words have comprehended the vaſt Extent and Sum total of human Extravagancies, as it is done in that Commandment: For there is nothing ſo high or remote in the Firmament, nor ſo low, or abject upon Earth; but ſome Men have worſhip'd it, or made it one way or other the Object of their Superſtition.

Hor. ——— *Crocodilon adorat*
Pars hæc: illa pavet ſaturam ſerpentibus Ibin.
Effigies ſacri nitet aurea Cercopitheci.

A holy Monkey! I own it is a Reproach to our Species, that ever any part of it ſhould have adored ſuch a Creature as a God. But that is the Tip-top of Folly, that can be charged on Superſtition.

Cleo. I don't think ſo; a Monkey is ſtill a living Creature, and conſequently ſomewhat ſuperiour to things inanimate.

Hor. I ſhould have thought Men's Adoration of the Sun or Moon infinitely leſs abſurd, than to have ſeen them fall down before ſo vile, ſo ridiculous an Animal.

Cleo. Thoſe who have adored the Sun and Moon never queſtion'd, but they were intelligent as well as glorious Beings. But when I mentioned the Word *inanimate*, I was thinking on what the ſame Poet you quoted ſaid, of the Veneration, Men paid to Leeks and

Onions, Deities they raiſed in their own Gardens.

Porrum & cepe nefas violare, & frangere morſu:
O ſanctas Genteis, quibus hæc naſcuntur in hortis
Numina! ———————

But this is nothing to what has been done in *America*, fourteen hundred Years after the time of *Juvenal*. If the portentous Worſhip of the *Mexicans* had been known in his Days, he would not have thought it worth his while to take Notice of the *Ægyptians*. I have often admired at the uncommon Pains thoſe poor People muſt have taken, to expreſs the frightful and ſhocking as well as bizarre and unutterable Notions they entertain'd of the ſuperlative Malice, and helliſh implacable Nature of their *Vitzliputzli*, to whom they ſacrific'd the Hearts of Men, cut out whilſt they were alive. The monſtrous Figure and labour'd Deformity of that abominable Idol, are a lively Repreſentation of the direful Ideas thoſe Wretches framed to themſelves of an inviſible over-ruling Power; and plainly ſhew us, how horrid and execrable they thought it to be, at the ſame time, that they paid it the higheſt Adoraaion; and at the Expence of human Blood endeavour'd, with Fear and Trembling, if not to appeaſe the Wrath

and

and Rage of it, at leaſt to avert in ſome meaſure the manifold Miſchiefs, they apprehended from it.

Hor. Nothing, I muſt own, can render declaiming againſt Idolatry more ſeaſonable than a Reflection upon the ſecond Commandment: But as what you have been ſaying, required no great Attention, I have been thinking of ſomething elſe. Thinking on the Purport of the third Commandment furniſhes me with an Objection, and I think a ſtrong one, to what you have affirm'd about all Laws in general, and the Decalogue in particular. You know, I urged, that it was wrong to aſcribe the Faults of bad Men to human Nature in general.

Cleo. I do; and thought I had anſwered you.

Hor. Let me try only once more. Which of the two pray do you think, prophane ſwearing to proceed from, a Frailty in our Nature, or an ill Cuſtom generally contracted by keeping of bad Company?

Cleo. Certainly the latter.

Hor. Then it is evident to me, that this Law is levell'd at the bad Men only, that are guilty of the Vice forbid in it; and not any Frailty, belonging to human Nature in general.

Cleo. I believe, you miſtake the Deſign of this Law; and am of Opinion, that it has a much higher Aim than you ſeem to imagine. You remember my ſaying, that Reverence to

Authority was neceſſary, to make human Creatures governable.

Hor. Very well; and that Reverence was a Compound of Fear, Love and Eſteem.

Cleo. Now let us take a View of what is done in the Decalogue: In the ſhort Preamble to it, expreſly made that the *Iſraelites* ſhould know who it was that ſpoke to them, God manifeſts himſelf to thoſe, whom he had choſen for his People by a moſt remarkable Inſtance of his own great Power, and their ſtrong Obligation to him, in a Fact, that none of them could be ignorant of. There is a Plainneſs and Grandeur withal in this Sentence, than which nothing can be more truly ſublime or majeſtick; and I defy the learned World, to ſhew me another as comprehenſive, and of equal Weight and Dignity, that ſo fully executes its Purpoſe, and anſwers its Deſign, with the ſame Simplicity of Words. In that part of the ſecond Commandment, which contains the Motives and Inducements, why Men ſhould obey the Divine Laws, are ſet forth in the moſt emphatical manner; Firſt, God's Wrath on thoſe that hate him, and the Continuance of it on their Poſterity; Secondly, the wide Extent of his Mercy to thoſe, who love him and keep his Commandments. If we duely conſider theſe Paſſages, we ſhall find, that Fear as well as Love, and the higheſt Eſteem, are plainly and diſtinctly inculcated in them; and that the beſt Method is made uſe

of there, to inſpire Men with a deep Senſe of the three Ingredients, that make up the Compound of Reverence. The Reaſon is plain: If People were to be govern'd by that Body of Laws, nothing was more neceſſary to enforce their Obedience to them, than their awful Regard and utmoſt Veneration to Him, at whoſe Command they were to keep them, and to whom they were accountable for the breaking of them.

Hor. What Anſwer is all this to my Objection?

Cleo. Have a Moment's Patience; I am coming to it. Mankind are naturally fickle, and delight in Change and Variety; they ſeldom retain long the ſame Impreſſion of things they receiv'd at firſt, when they were new to them; and they are apt to undervalue, if not deſpiſe, the beſt, when they grow common. I am of Opinion, that the third Commandment points at this Frailty, this want of Steadineſs in our Nature; the ill Conſequences of which, in our Duty to the Creator, could not be better prevented than by a ſtrict Obſervance of this Law, in never making uſe of his Name; but in the moſt ſolemn Manner on neceſſary Occaſions, and in Matters of high Importance. As in the foregoing part of the Decalogue, Care had been already taken by the ſtrongeſt Motives to create and attract Reverence, ſo nothing could be more wiſely adapted to ſtrengthen, and make it everlaſting, than the

the Contents of this Law: For as too much Familiarity breeds Contempt, ſo our higheſt Regard due, to what is moſt Sacred, cannot be kept up better than by a quite contrary Practice.

Hor. I am anſwer'd.

Cleo. What Weight Reverence is thought to be of to procure Obedience, we may learn from the ſame Body of Laws in another Commandment. Children have no Opportunity of Learning their Duty, but from their Parents, and thoſe who act by their Authority or in their Stead: Therefore it was requiſite, that Men ſhould not only ſtand in great Dread of the Law of God, but likewiſe have great Reverence for thoſe, who firſt inculcated it, and communicated to them, that this was the Law of God.

Hor. But you ſaid, that the Reverence of Children to Parents was a natural Conſequence of what the firſt experienc'd from the latter.

Cleo. You think there was no Occaſion for this Law, if Man would do what is commanded in it, of his own Accord: But I deſire, you would conſider, that tho' the Reverence of Children to Parents is a natural Conſequence, partly of the Benefits and Chaſtiſements they receive from them, and partly of the great Opinion they form of the ſuperiour Capacity they obſerve in them; Experience teaches us, that this Reverence may be over-

ruled

ruled by ſtronger Paſſions; and therefore, it being of the higheſt Moment to all Government, and Sociableneſs itſelf, God thought fit to fortify and ſtrengthen it in us, by a particular Command of his own; and moreover to encourage it, by the Promiſe of a Reward for the keeping of it. It is our Parents, that firſt cure us of our natural Wildneſs, and break in us the Spirit of Independancy, we are all born with: It is to them we owe the firſt Rudiments of our Submiſſion; and to the Honour and Deference, which Children pay to Parents, all Societies are oblig'd for the Principle of human Obedience. The Inſtinct of Sovereignty in our Nature, and the Waywardneſs of Infants, which is the Conſequence of it, diſcover themſelves with the leaſt glimmering of our Underſtanding, and before: Children that have been moſt neglected, and the leaſt taught, are always the moſt ſtubborn and obſtinate; and none are more unruly, and fonder of following their own Will, than thoſe that are leaſt capable of governing themſelves.

Hor. Then this Commandment you think not obligatory, when we come to years of Maturity.

Cleo. Far from it: for though the Benefit politically intended by this Law, be chiefly receiv'd by us, whilſt we are under Age and the Tuition of Parents; yet for that very reaſon ought the Duty, commanded in it, never

to

to ceaſe. We are fond of imitating our Superiors from our Cradle, and whilſt this Honour and Reverence to Parents continue to be paid by their Children, when they are grown Men and Women, and act for themſelves, the Example is of ſingular uſe to all Minors, in teaching them their Duty, and not to refuſe what they ſee others, that are older and wiſer, comply with by Choice: For by this means, as their Underſtanding encreaſes, this Duty by degrees becomes a Faſhion, which at laſt their Pride will not ſuffer them to neglect.

Hor. What you ſaid laſt is certainly the reaſon, that among faſhionable People, even the moſt vicious and wicked do outward Homage, and pay Reſpect to Parents, at leaſt before the World; tho' they act againſt and in their Hearts hate them.

Cleo. Here is another Inſtance to convince us, that good Manners are not inconſiſtent with Wickedneſs; and that Men may be ſtrict Obſervers of Decorums, and take Pains to ſeem well-bred, and at the ſame time have no Regard to the Laws of God, and live in Contempt of Religion: and therefore to procure an outward Compliance with this fifth Commandment, no Lecture can be of ſuch force, nor any Inſtruction ſo edifying to Youth, among the modiſh ſort of People, as the Sight of a ſtrong and vigorous, as well as polite and well dreſs'd Man, in a diſpute giving way and ſubmitting to a decrepit Parent.

Hor.

Hor. But do you imagine that all the Divine Laws, even thoſe that ſeem only to relate to God himſelf, his Power and Glory, and our Obedience to his Will, abſtract from any Conſideration of our Neighbour, had likewiſe a regard to the Good of Society, and the temporal Happineſs of his People?

Cleo. There is no doubt of that; witneſs the keeping of the Sabbath.

Hor. We have ſeen that very handſomely proved in one of the *Spectators.*

Cleo. But the Uſefulneſs of it in human Affairs, is of far greater Moment, than that which the Author of that Paper chiefly takes notice of. Of all the Difficulties, that Mankind have labour'd under in completing Society, nothing has been more puzling or perplexing than the Diviſion of Time. Our annual Courſe round the Sun, not anſwering exactly any number of compleat Days or Hours, has been the occaſion of immenſe Study and Labour; and nothing has more rack'd the Brain of Man, than the adjuſting the Year, to prevent the Confuſion of Seaſons: but even when the Year was divided into Lunar Months, the Computation of Time muſt have been impracticable among the common People: To remember twenty nine, or thirty Days, where Feaſts are irregular, and all other Days ſhew alike, muſt have been a great Burden to the Memory, and cauſed a continual Confuſion among the ignorant; whereas a ſhort Period

riod ſoon returning is eaſily remembred, and one fix'd Day in ſeven, ſo remarkably diſtinguiſh'd from the reſt, muſt rub up the Memory of the moſt unthinking.

Hor. I believe that the Sabbath is a conſiderable Help in the Computation of Time, and of greater uſe in human Affairs, than can be eaſily imagin'd by thoſe, who never knew the Want of it.

Cleo. But what is moſt remarkable in this fourth Commandment, is God's revealing himſelf to his People, and acquainting an infant Nation with a Truth, which the reſt of the World remain'd ingnorant of for many Ages. Men were ſoon made ſenſible of the Sun's Power, obſerved every Meteor in the Sky, and ſuſpected the Influence of the Moon and other Stars: but it was a long time, and Man was far advanced in ſublime Notions, before the Light of Nature could raiſe mortal Thought to the Contemplation of an infinite Being, that is the Author of the whole.

Hor. You have deſcanted on this ſufficiently, when you ſpoke of *Moſes:* Pray let us proceed to the further Eſtabliſhment of Society. I am ſatisfied that the third Step towards it is the Invention of Letters; that without them no Laws can be long effectual, and that the principal Laws of all Countries are Remedies againſt human Frailties; I mean, that they are deſign'd as Antidotes, to prevent the ill Conſequences of ſome Properties, inſepa-

rable

rable from our Nature; which yet in themſelves, without Management or Reſtraint, are obſtructive and pernicious to Society: I am perſuaded likewiſe, that theſe Frailties are palpably pointed at in the Decalogue; that it was wrote with great Wiſdom, and that there is not one Commandment in it, that has not a regard to the temporal Good of Society, as well as Matters of higher moment.

Cleo. Theſe are the Things, indeed, that I have endeavor'd to prove; and now all the great Difficulties and chief Obſtructions, that can hinder a Multitude from being form'd into a Body Politick, are removed: When once Men come to be govern'd by written Laws, all the reſt comes on a-pace. Now Property, and Safety of Life and Limb, may be ſecured: This naturally will forward the Love of Peace, and make it ſpread. No number of Men, when once they enjoy Quiet, and no Man needs to fear his Neighbour, will be long without learning to divide and ſubdivide their Labour.

Hor. I don't underſtand you.

Cleo. Man, as I have hinted before, naturally loves to imitate what he ſees others do, which is the reaſon that ſavage People all do the ſame thing: This hinders them from meliorating their Condition, though they are always wiſhing for it: But if one will wholly apply himſelf to the making of Bows and Arrows, whilſt another provides Food, a third

third builds Huts, a fourth makes Garments, and a fifth Utenſils, they not only become uſeful to one another, but the Callings and Employments themſelves will in the ſame Number of Years receive much greater Improvements, than if all had been promiſcuouſly follow'd by every one of the Five.

Hor. I believe you are perfectly right there; and the truth of what you ſay is in nothing ſo conſpicuous, as it is in Watch-making, which is come to a higher degree of Perfection, than it would have been arrived at yet, if the whole had always remain'd the Employment of one Perſon; and I am perſuaded, that even the Plenty we have of Clocks and Watches, as well as the Exactneſs and Beauty they may be made of, are chiefly owing to the Diviſion that has been made of that Art into many Branches.

Cleo. The uſe of Letters muſt likewiſe very much improve Speech it ſelf, which before that time cannot but be very barren and precarious.

Hor. I am glad to hear you mention Speech again: I would not interrupt you, when you named it once before: Pray what Language did your wild Couple ſpeak, when firſt they met?

Cleo. From what I have ſaid already it is evident, that they could have had none at all; at leaſt, that it is my Opinion.

Hor.

Hor. Then wild People muſt have an Inſtinct to underſtand one another, which they loſe when they are civiliz'd.

Cleo. I am perſuaded, that Nature has made all Animals of the ſame kind, in their mutual Commerce, intelligible to one another, as far as is requiſite for the Preſervation of themſelves and their Species: And as to my wild Couple, as you call them, I believe there would be a very good Underſtanding, before many Sounds paſt between them. It is not without ſome Difficulty, that a Man born in Society can form an Idea of ſuch Savages, and their Condition; and unleſs he has uſed himſelf to abſtract thinking, he can hardly repreſent to himſelf ſuch a State of Simplicity, in which Man can have ſo few Deſires, and no Appetites roving beyond the immediate Call of untaught Nature: To me it ſeems very plain, that ſuch a Couple would not only be deſtitute of Language, but likewiſe never find out or imagine, that they ſtood in need of any; or that the want of it was any real Inconvenience to them.

Hor. Why do you think ſo?

Cleo. Becauſe it is impoſſible, that any Creature ſhould know the Want of what it can have no Idea of: I believe moreover, that if Savages, after they are grown Men and Women, ſhould hear others ſpeak, be made acquainted with the Uſefulneſs of Speech,

and conſequently become ſenſible of the want of it in themſelves, their Inclination to learn it would be as inconſiderable as their Capacity; and if they ſhould attempt it, they would find it an immenſe labour, a thing not to be ſurmounted; becauſe the Suppleneſs and Flexibility in the Organs of Speech, that Children are endued with, and which I have often hinted at, would be loſt in them; and they might learn to play maſterly upon the Violin, or any other the moſt difficult muſical Inſtrument, before they could make any tolerable Proficiency in ſpeaking.

Hor. Brutes make ſeveral diſtinct Sounds to expreſs different Paſſions by: As for Example; Anguiſh, and great Danger, Dogs of all ſorts expreſs with another Noiſe than they do Rage and Anger; and the whole Species expreſs Grief by howling.

Cleo. This is no Argument to make us believe, that Nature has endued Man with Speech: There are innumerable other Privileges and Inſtincts which ſome Brutes enjoy, and Men are deſtitute of: Chickens run about as ſoon as they are hatch'd; and moſt Quadrupedes can walk without help, as ſoon as they are brought forth. If ever Language came by Inſtinct, the People that ſpoke it, muſt have known every individual Word in it; and a Man in the wild State of Nature would have no occaſion for a thouſandth part of the moſt barren Language that ever had a Name.

Name. When a Man's Knowledge is confin'd within a narrow Compaſs, and he has nothing to obey, but the ſimple Dictates of Nature, the Want of Speech is eaſily ſupply'd by dumb Signs; and it is more natural to untaught Men to expreſs themſelves by Geſtures, than by Sounds; but we are all born with a Capacity of making ourſelves underſtood, beyond other Animals, without Speech: To expreſs Grief, Joy, Love, Wonder and Fear, there are certain Tokens, that are common to the whole Species. Who doubts that the crying of Children was given them by Nature, to call Aſſiſtance and raiſe Pity, which latter it does ſo unaccountably beyond any other Sound?

Hor. In Mothers and Nurſes, you mean.

Cleo. I mean in the generality of human Creatures. Will you allow me, that warlike Muſick generally rouſes and ſupports the Spirits, and keeps them from ſinking?

Hor. I believe I muſt.

Cleo. Then I'll engage, that the crying (I mean the *Vagitus*) of helpleſs Infants will ſtir up Compaſſion in the generality of our Species, that are within the hearing of it, with much greater Certainty than Drums and Trumpets will diſſipate and chaſe away Fear, in thoſe they are applied to. Weeping, laughing, ſmiling, frowning, ſighing, exclaiming, we ſpoke of before. How univerſal, as well as copious, is the Language of the Eyes, by

the help of which the remoteſt Nations underſtand one another at firſt Sight, taught or untaught, in the weightieſt temporal Concern that belongs to the Species? and in that Language our wild Couple would at their firſt meeting intelligibly ſay more to one another without guile, than any civiliz'd Pair would dare to name without bluſhing.

Hor. A Man without doubt may be as impudent with his Eyes, as he can be with his Tongue.

Cleo All ſuch Looks therefore, and ſeveral Motions, that are natural, are carefully avoided among polite People, upon no other Account, than that they are too ſignificant: It is for the ſame reaſon that ſtretching ourſelves before others, whilſt we are yawning, is an abſolute Breach of good Manners; eſpecially in mix'd Company of both Sexes. As it is indecent to diſplay any of theſe Tokens, ſo it is unfaſhionable to take Notice of, or ſeem to underſtand, them: This Diſuſe and Neglect of them is the Cauſe, that whenever they happen to be made either through Ignorance or wilful Rudeneſs, many of them are loſt and really not underſtood, by the *beau monde*; that would be very plain to Savages without Language, who could have no other Means of converſing than by Signs and Motions.

Hor. But if the old Stock would never either be able or willing to acquire Speech, it is impoſſible they could teach it their Children:

dren: Then which way could any Language ever come into the World from two Savages?

Cleo. By ſlow degrees, as all other Arts and Sciences have done, and length of time; Agriculture, Phyſick, Aſtronomy, Architecture, Painting, *&c.* From what we ſee in Children that are backward with their Tongues, we have reaſon to think, that a wild Pair would make themſelves intelligible to each other by Signs and Geſtures, before they would attempt it by Sounds: But when they lived together for many Years, it is very probable, that for the Things they were moſt converſant with they would find out Sounds, to ſtir up in each other the Idea's of ſuch Things, when they were out of ſight; theſe Sounds they would communicate to their young ones; and the longer they lived together the greater Variety of Sounds they would invent, as well for Actions as the Things themſelves: They would find that the Volubility of Tongue, and Flexibility of Voice, were much greater in their young ones, than they could remember it ever to have been in themſelves: It is impoſſible, but ſome of theſe young ones would, either by Accident or Deſign, make uſe of this ſuperior Aptitude of the Organs at one time or other; which every Generation would ſtill improve upon; and this muſt have been the Origin of all Languages, and Speech it ſelf, that were not taught by Inſpiration. I believe moreover, that after Language (I

mean ſuch as is of human Invention) was come to a great degree of Perfection, and even when People had diſtinct Words for every Action in Life, as well as every Thing they meddled or convers'd with, Signs and Geſtures ſtill continued to be made for a great while, to accompany Speech; becauſe both are intended for the ſame Purpoſe.

Hor. The Deſign of Speech is to make our Thoughts known to others.

Cleo. I don't think ſo.

Hor. What! Don't Men ſpeak to be underſtood?

Cleo. In one Senſe they do; but there is a double Meaning in thoſe Words, which I believe you did not intend: If by Man's *ſpeaking to be underſtood* you mean, that when Men ſpeak, they deſire that the Purport of the Sounds they utter ſhould be known and apprehended by others, I anſwer in the Affirmative: But if you mean by it, that Men ſpeak, in order that their Thoughts may be known, and their Sentiments laid open and ſeen through by others, which likewiſe may be meant by *ſpeaking to be underſtood*, I anſwer in the Negative. The firſt Sign or Sound that ever Man made, born of a Woman, was made in Behalf, and intended for the uſe of him who made it; and I am of Opinion, that the firſt Deſign of Speech was to perſuade others, either to give Credit to what the ſpeaking Perſon would have them believe;

believe; or elſe to act or ſuffer ſuch Things, as he would compel them to act or ſuffer, if they were entirely in his Power.

Hor. Speech is likewiſe made uſe of to teach, adviſe, and inform others for their Benefit, as well as to perſuade them in our own Behalf.

Cleo. And ſo by the help of it Men may accuſe themſelves and own their Crimes; but no Body would have invented Speech for thoſe purpoſes; I ſpeak of the Deſign, the firſt Motive and Intention that put Man upon ſpeaking. We ſee in Children that the firſt things they endeavour to expreſs with Words are their Wants and their Will; and their Speech is but a Confirmation of what they ask'd, deny'd, or affirm'd, by Signs before.

Hor. But why do you imagine that People would continue to make uſe of Signs and Geſtures, after they could ſufficiently expreſs themſelves in Words?

Cleo. Becauſe Signs confirm Words, as much as Words do Signs; and we ſee, even in polite People, that when they are very eager they can hardly forbear making uſe of both. When an Infant, in broken imperfect Gibberiſh, calls for a Cake or a Play-thing, and at the ſame time points at and reaches after it, this double Endeavour makes a ſtronger Impreſſion upon us, than if the Child had either ſpoke its Wants in plain Words, without making any Signs, or elſe look'd at and reach'd

after the thing wanted, without attempting to ſpeak. Speech and Action aſſiſt and corroborate one another, and Experience teaches us that they move us much more, and are more perſuaſive jointly than ſeparately; *vis unita fortior*; and when an Infant makes uſe of both, he acts from the ſame Principle, that an Orator does, when he joins proper Geſtures to an elaborate Declamation.

Hor. From what you have ſaid, it ſhould ſeem that Action is not only more natural, but likewiſe more ancient than Speech it ſelf; which before I ſhould have thought a Paradox.

Cleo. Yet it is true; and you ſhall always find, that the moſt forward, volatile, and fiery Tempers make more uſe of Geſtures, when they ſpeak, than others that are more patient and ſedate.

Hor. It is a very diverting Scene to ſee how this is overdone among the *French*, and ſtill more among the *Portugueſe:* I have often been amazed to ſee, what Diſtortions of Face and Body, as well as other ſtrange Geſticulations with Hands and Feet, ſome of them will make in their ordinary Diſcourſes: But nothing was more offenſive to me, when I was abroad, than the Loudneſs and Violence which moſt Foreigners ſpeak with, even among Perſons of Quality, when a Diſpute ariſes, or any thing is to be debated: Before I was uſed to it, it put me always upon my Guard; for I did

did not queſtion but they were angry; and I often recollected what had been ſaid, in order to conſider, whether it was not ſomething I ought to have reſented.

Cleo. The natural Ambition and ſtrong Deſire Men have to triumph over, as well as perſuade others, are the occaſion of all this. Heightning and lowring the Voice, at proper Seaſons, is a bewitching Engine to captivate mean Underſtandings; and Loudneſs is an Aſſiſtant to Speech, as well as Action is: Uncorrectneſs, falſe Grammar, and even want of Senſe, are often happily drown'd in Noiſe and great Buſtle; and many an Argument has been convincing, that had all its Force from the Vehemence it was made with: The Weakneſs of the Language it ſelf may be palliatively cured by ſtrength of Elocution.

Hor. I am glad that ſpeaking low is the Faſhion among well-bred People in *England*; for Bawling and Impetuoſity I cannot endure.

Cleo. Yet this latter is more natural; and no Man ever gave in to the contrary Practice, the Faſhion you like, that was not taught it, either by Precept or Example: And if Men do not accuſtom themſelves to it, whilſt they are young, it is very difficult to comply with it afterwards: But it is the moſt lovely, as well as moſt rational Piece of good Manners, that human Invention has to boaſt of in the Art of Flattery; for when a Man addreſſes

addreſſes himſelf to me in a calm manner, without making Geſtures, or other Motions with Head or Body, and continues his Diſcourſe in the ſame ſubmiſſive Strain and Compoſure of Voice, without exalting or depreſſing it, he, in the firſt place, diſplays his own Modeſty and Humility in an agreeable manner; and, in the ſecond, makes me a great Compliment, in the Opinion which he ſeems to have of me; for by ſuch a Behaviour he gives me the Pleaſure to imagine, that he thinks me not influenc'd by my Paſſions, but altogether ſway'd by my Reaſon: He ſeems to lay his Streſs on my Judgment, and therefore to deſire, that I ſhould weigh and conſider what he ſays, without being ruffled or diſturbed: No Man would do this unleſs he truſted entirely to my good Senſe, and the Rectitude of my Underſtanding.

Hor. I have always admired this unaffected manner of ſpeaking, tho' I never examined ſo deeply into the Meaning of it.

Cleo. I can't help thinking, but that, next to the *Laconick* and manly Spirit, that runs through the Nation, we are very much beholden for the Strength and Beauty of our Language to this Tranquility in Diſcourſe, which for many Years has been in *England*, more than any where elſe, a Cuſtom peculiar to the *beau monde*, who, in all Countries, are the undoubted Refiners of Language.

Hor.

Hor. I thought that it was the Preachers, Play-wrights, Orators, and fine Writers that refin'd upon Language.

Cleo. They make the beſt of what is ready coin'd to their Hands; but the true and only Mint of Words and Phraſes is the Court; and the polite Part of every Nation are in Poſſeſſion of the *Jus & norma loquendi.* All technick Words indeed, and Terms of Art, belong to the reſpective Artiſts and Dealers, that primarily and literally make uſe of them in their Buſineſs; but whatever is borrow'd from them for metaphorical Uſe, or from other Languages, living or dead, muſt firſt have the Stamp of the Court, and the Approbation of the *beau monde*, before it can paſs for current; and whatever is not uſed among them, or comes abroad without their Sanction, is either vulgar, pedantick, or obſolete. Orators therefore, Hiſtorians, and all wholeſale Dealers in Words, are confin'd to thoſe, that have been already well receiv'd, and from that Treaſure they may pick and chuſe what is moſt for their purpoſe; but they are not allow'd to make new ones of their own, any more than Bankers are ſuffer'd to coin.

Hor. All this while I cannot comprehend what Advantage or Diſadvantage ſpeaking loud or low can be of to the Language it ſelf; and if what I am ſaying now was ſet down, it muſt be a real Conjurer that, half a Year hence,

ſhould

ſhould be able to tell by the Writing, whether it had been bawl'd out or whiſper'd.

Cleo. I am of Opinion that when People of Skill and Addreſs accuſtom themſelves to ſpeak in the manner aforeſaid, it muſt in time have an Influence upon the Language, and render it ſtrong and expreſſive.

Hor. But your Reaſon?

Cleo. When a Man has only his Words to truſt to, and the Hearer is not to be affected by the Delivery of them otherwiſe, than if he was to read them himſelf, it will infallibly put Men upon ſtudying not only for nervous Thoughts and Perſpicuity, but likewiſe for Words of great Energy, for Purity of Diction, Compactneſs of Style, and Fullneſs as well as Elegancy of Expreſſions.

Hor. This ſeems to be far fetch'd, and yet I don't know but there may be ſomething in it.

Cleo. I am ſure you will think ſo, when you conſider that all Men, that do ſpeak, are equally deſirous and endeavouring to perſuade and gain the Point they labour for, whether they ſpeak loud or low, with Geſtures or without.

Hor. Speech, you ſay, was invented to perſuade; I am afraid you lay too much Streſs upon that: It certainly is made uſe of likewiſe for many other Purpoſes.

Cleo. I don't deny that.

Hor.

Hor. When People ſcold, call Names, and pelt one another with Scurrilities, what Deſign is that done with? If it be to perſuade others, to have a worſe Opinion of themſelves, than they are ſuppoſed to entertain, I believe it is ſeldom done with Succeſs.

Cleo. Calling Names is ſhewing others, and ſhewing them with Pleaſure and Oſtentation, the vile and wretched Opinion we have of them; and Perſons that make uſe of opprobrious Language are often endeavouring to make thoſe, whom they give it to, believe that they think worſe of them than they really do.

Hor. Worſe than they do! Whence does that ever appear?

Cleo. From the Behaviour and the common Practice of thoſe that ſcold and call Names. They rip up and exaggerate not only the Faults and Imperfections of their Adverſary himſelf, but likewiſe every thing that is ridiculous or contemptible in his Friends or Relations: They will fly to, and reflect upon every thing, which he is but in the leaſt concern'd in, if any thing can poſſibly be ſaid of it that is reproachful; the Occupation he follows, the Party he ſides with, or the Country he is of. They repeat with Joy the Calamities and Misfortunes that have befal'n him or his Family: They ſee the Juſtice of Providence in them, and they are ſure, they are Puniſhments he has deſerv'd. Whatever Crime he has been ſuſpected

pected of, they charge him with, as if it had been proved upon him. They call in every thing to their Aſſiſtance; bare Surmiſes, looſe Reports, and known Calumnies; and often upbraid him with what they themſelves at other times have own'd not to believe.

Hor. But how comes the Practice of ſcolding and calling Names to be ſo common among the Vulgar all the World over? There muſt be a Pleaſure in it, tho' I cannot conceive it: I ask to be inform'd; what Satisfaction or other Benefit is it, that Men receive or expect from it? What View is it done with?

Cleo. The real Cauſe and inward Motive Men act from, when they uſe ill Language, or call Names in earneſt, is, in the firſt place, to give vent to their Anger, which it is troubleſome to ſtifle and conceal. Secondly, to vex and afflict their Enemies, with greater hopes of Impunity, than they could reaſonably entertain, if they did them any more ſubſtantial Miſchief, which the Law would revenge: But this never comes to be a Cuſtom, nor is thought of, before Language is arrived to great Perfection, and Society is carried to ſome degree of Politeneſs.

Hor. That's merry enough, to aſſert that Scurrility is the effect of Politeneſs.

Cleo. You ſhall call it what you pleaſe, but in its original it is a plain Shift to avoid fighting, and the ill Conſequences of it; for no Body ever call'd another Rogue and Raſcal, but

but he would have ſtruck him, if it had been in his own Power, and himſelf had not been with-held by the Fear of ſomething or other: Therefore where People call Names, without doing further Injury, it is a ſign not only that they have wholeſome Laws amongſt them againſt open Force and Violence, but likewiſe that they obey and ſtand in awe of them; and a Man begins to be a tolerable Subject, and is nigh half civiliz'd, that in his Paſſion will take up and content himſelf with this paultry Equivalent; which never was done without great Self-denial at firſt: For otherwiſe the obvious, ready, and unſtudy'd manner of venting and expreſſing Anger, which Nature teaches, is the ſame in human Creatures that it is in other Animals, and is done by fighting; as we may obſerve in Infants of two or three Months old, that never yet ſaw any Body out of Humour: For even at that Age they'll ſcratch, fling, and ſtrike with their Heads as well as Arms and Legs, when any thing raiſes their Anger, which is eaſily and at moſt times unaccountably provok'd; often by Hunger, Pain, and other inward Ailments. That they do this by Inſtinct, ſomething implanted in the Frame, the Mechaniſm of the Body, before any Marks of Wit or Reaſon are to be ſeen in them, I am fully perſuaded; as I am likewiſe, that Nature teaches them the manner of fighting peculiar to their Species; and Children ſtrike with their Arms as naturally

as

as Horſes kick, Dogs bite, and Bulls puſh with their Horns. I beg your Pardon for this Digreſſion.

Hor. It was natural enough, but if it had been leſs ſo, you would not have ſlipt the Opportunity of having a Fling at human Nature, which you never ſpare.

Cleo. We have not a more dangerous Enemy than our own inborn Pride: I ſhall ever attack and endeavour to mortify it, when it is in my Power: For the more we are perſuaded that the greateſt Excellencies the beſt Men have to boaſt of, are acquired, the greater Streſs it will teach us to lay upon Education; and the more truly ſollicitous it will render us about it: And the abſolute Neceſſity of good and early Inſtructions, can be no way more clearly demonſtrated, than by expoſing the Deformity as well as the Weakneſs of our untaught Nature.

Hor. Let us return to Speech: If the chief Deſign of it is to perſuade, the *French* have got the ſtart of us a great way; theirs is really a charming Language.

Cleo. So it is without doubt to a *Frenchman.*

Hor. And every Body elſe, I ſhould think, that underſtands it, and has any Taſte: Don't you think it to be very engaging?

Cleo. Yes, to one that loves his Belly; for it is very copious in the Art of Cookery, and every thing that belongs to eating and drinking:

Hor.

Hor. But without Banter, don't you think that the *French* Tongue is more proper, more fit to perſuade in, than ours?

Cleo. To coax and wheedle in, I believe it may.

Hor. I can't conceive what Nicety it is you aim at, in that Diſtinction.

Cleo. The Word you named includes no Idea of Reproach or Diſparagement; the greateſt Capacities may, without Diſcredit to them, yield to Perſuaſion, as well as the leaſt; but thoſe, who can be gain'd by coaxing and wheedling, are commonly ſuppoſed to be Perſons of mean Parts and weak Underſtandings.

Hor. But pray come to the Point; which of the two do you take to be the fineſt Language?

Cleo. That is hard to determine: Nothing is more difficult, than to compare the Beauties of two Languages together, becauſe what is very much eſteem'd in the one, is often not reliſh'd at all in the other: In this Point the *Pulchrum & Honeſtum* varies, and is different every where, as the Genius of the People differs. I don't ſet up for a Judge, but what I have commonly obſerved in the two Languages, is this: All favourite Expreſſions in *French* are ſuch, as either ſooth or tickle; and nothing is more admired in *Engliſh*, than what pierces or ſtrikes.

Hor. Do you take yourſelf to be entirely impartial now?

Cleo. I think ſo; but if I am not, I don't know how to be ſorry for it: There are ſome things, in which it is the Intereſt of the Society that Men ſhould be biaſs'd; and I don't think it amiſs, that Men ſhould be inclined to love their own Language, from the ſame Principle, that they love their Country. The *French* call us Barbarous, and we ſay, they are Fawning: I won't believe the firſt, let them believe what they pleaſe. Do you remember the ſix Lines in the *Cid*, which *Corneille* is ſaid to have had a Preſent of ſix thouſand Livres for?

Hor. Very well.

Mon Pere eſt mort, Elvire, & la premiere
Eſpée
D'on s'eſt armé Rodrigue a ſa trame coupée.
Pleurès, pleurès mes yeux, & fondes vous en
eau,
La moitié de ma vie a mis l'autre au tom-
beau;
Et m'oblige à venger, apres ce coup funeſte,
Cell que je n'ay plus ſur celle qui me reſte.

Cleo. The ſame Thought expreſs'd in our Language, to all the Advantage it has in the *French*, would be hiſs'd by an *Engliſh* Audience.

Hor. That's no Compliment to the Taſte of your Country.

Cleo.

Cleo. I don't know that: Men may have no bad Taſte, and yet not be ſo ready at conceiving, which way *one half of one's Life can put the other into the Grave:* To me, I own it is puzling, and it has too much the Air of a Riddle, to be ſeen in heroick Poetry.

Hor. Can you find no Delicacy at all in the Thought?

Cleo. Yes; but it is too fine ſpun, it is the Delicacy of a Cobweb; there is no Strength in it.

Hor. I have always admired theſe Lines; but now you have made me out of Conceit with them, methinks I ſpy another Fault that's much greater.

Cleo. What is that?

Hor. The Author makes his Heroine ſay a thing, which was falſe in Fact: *One half,* ſays Chimene, *of my Life has put the other into the Grave, and obliges me to revenge,* &c. Which is the Nominative of the Verb *obliges?*

Cleo. One half of my Life.

Hor. Here lies the Fault; it is this, which I think is not true; For the *one half of her Life,* here mention'd, is plainly that half which was left; it is *Rodrigues* her Lover: Which way did he oblige her to ſeek for Revenge?

Cleo. By what he had done, killing her Father.

Hor. No, *Cleomenes,* this Excuſe is inſufficient. *Chimene's* Calamity ſprung from the *Dilemma* ſhe was in between her Love and

her Duty; when the latter was inexorable, and violently preſſing her, to ſollicit the Puniſhment, and employ with Zeal all her Intereſt and Eloquence, to obtain the Death of him, whom the firſt had made dearer to her than her own Life; and therefore it was the half that was gone, that was put in the Grave, her dead Father, and not *Rodrigues* which *obliged* her to ſue for Juſtice: Had the *Obligation* ſhe lay under come from this quarter, it might ſoon have been cancell'd, and herſelf releas'd without crying out her Eyes.

Cleo. I beg Pardon for differing from you, but I believe the Poet is in the right.

Hor. Pray, conſider which it was, that made *Chimene* proſecute *Rodrigues*, Love, or Honour.

Cleo. I do; but ſtill I can't help thinking, but that her Lover, by having kill'd her Father, obliged *Chimene* to proſecute him; in the ſame manner as a Man, who will give no Satisfaction to his Creditors, obliges them to arreſt him; or as we would ſay to a Coxcomb who is offending us with his Diſcourſe, *If you go on thus, Sir, you'll oblige me to treat you ill:* Tho' all this while the Debtor might be as little deſirous of being arreſted, and the Coxcomb of being ill treated, as *Rodrigues* was of being proſecuted.

Hor. I believe you are in the right, and I beg *Corneille*'s Pardon. But now I deſire you would tell me, what you have further to ſay of

of Society: What other Advantages do Multitudes receive from the Invention of Letters, beſides the Improvements it makes in their Laws and Language?

Cleo. It is an Incouragement to all other Inventions in general; by preſerving the Knowledge of every uſeful Improvement that is made. When Laws begin to be well known, and the Execution of them is facilitated by general Approbation, Multitudes may be kept in tolerable Concord among themſelves: It is then that it appears, and not before, how much the Superiority of Man's Underſtanding beyond other Animals, contributes to his Sociableneſs, which is only retarded by it in his Savage State.

Hor. How ſo, pray? I don't underſtand you.

Cleo. The Superiority of Underſtanding, in the firſt place, makes Man ſooner ſenſible of Grief and Joy, and capable of entertaining either, with greater difference as to the Degrees, than they are felt in other Creatures. Secondly, it renders him more induſtrious to pleaſe himſelf, that is, it furniſhes Self-love with a greater Variety of Shifts to exert itſelf on all Emergencies, than is made uſe of by Animals of leſs Capacity. Superiority of Underſtanding likewiſe gives us a Foreſight, and inſpires us with Hopes, of which other Creatures have little, and that only of things immediately before them. All theſe things are

ſo many Tools, Arguments, by which Self-love reaſons us into Content, and renders us patient under many Afflictions, for the ſake of ſupplying thoſe Wants that are moſt preſſing: This is of infinite uſe to a Man, who finds himſelf born in a Body Politick, and it muſt make him fond of Society: Whereas the ſame Endowment before that time, the ſame Superiority of Underſtanding in the State of Nature, can only ſerve to render Man incurably averſe to Society, and more obſtinately tenacious of his Savage Liberty, than any other Creature would be, that is equally neceſſitous.

Hor. I don't know how to refute you: There is a Juſtneſs of Thought in what you ſay, which I am forc'd to aſſent to; and yet it ſeems ſtrange: How come you by this Inſight into the Heart of Man, and which way is that Skill of unravelling humane Nature to be obtain'd?

Cleo. By diligently obſerving what Excellencies and Qualifications are really acquired, in a well-accompliſh'd Man; and having done this impartially, we may be ſure that the Remainder of him is Nature. It is for want of duly ſeparating and keeping aſunder theſe two things, that Men have utter'd ſuch Abſurdities on this Subject; alledging as the Cauſes of Man's Fitneſs for Society, ſuch Qualifications as no Man ever was endued with, that was not educated in a Society, a civil Eſtabliſh-

ment,

ment, of ſeveral hundred Years ſtanding. But the Flatterers of our Species keep this carefully from our View: Inſtead of ſeparating what is acquired from what is natural, and diſtinguiſhing between them, they take Pains to unite and confound them together.

Hor. Why do they? I don't ſee the Compliment; ſince the acquired, as well as natural Parts, belong to the ſame Perſon; and the one is not more inſeparable from him than the other.

Cleo. Nothing is ſo near to a Man, nor ſo really and entirely his own, as what he has from Nature; and when that dear Self, for the ſake of which he values or deſpiſes, loves or hates every thing elſe, comes to be ſtript and abſtracted from all Foreign Acquiſitions, humane Nature makes a poor Figure; it ſhews a Nakedneſs, or at leaſt an Undreſs, which no Man cares to be ſeen in. There is nothing we can be poſſeſs'd of, that is worth having, which we do not endeavour, cloſely to annex, and make an Ornament of to ourſelves; even Wealth and Power, and all the Gifts of Fortune, that are plainly adventitious, and altogether remote from our Perſons; whilſt they are our Right and Property, we don't love to be conſider'd without them. We ſee likewiſe that Men, who are come to be great in the World from deſpicable Beginnings, don't love to hear of their Origin.

Hor. That is no general Rule.

Cleo. I believe it is, tho' there may be Exceptions from it; and theſe are not without Reaſons. When a Man is proud of his Parts, and wants to be eſteem'd for his Diligence, Penetration, Quickneſs and Aſſiduity, he'll make perhaps an ingenuous Confeſſion, even to the expoſing of his Parents; and in order to ſet off the Merit that rais'd him, be ſpeaking himſelf of his original Meanneſs. But this is commonly done before Inferiours, whoſe Envy will be leſſen'd by it, and who will applaud his Candor and Humility in owning this Blemiſh: But not a Word of this before his Betters, who value themſelves upon their Families; and ſuch Men could heartily wiſh that their Parentage was unknown, whenever they are with thoſe that are their Equals in Quality, tho' ſuperior to them in Birth; by whom they know, that they are hated for their Advancement, and deſpis'd for the Lowneſs of their Extraction. But I have a ſhorter way of proving my Aſſertion. Pray, is it good Manners to tell a Man, that he is meanly born, or to hint at his Deſcent, when it is known to be Vulgar?

Hor. No: I don't ſay it is.

Cleo. That decides it, by ſhewing the general Opinion about it. Noble Anceſtors, and every thing elſe that is honourable and eſteem'd, and can be drawn within our Sphere, are an Advantage to our Perſons, and we all

deſire, they ſhould be look'd upon as our own.

Hor. *Ovid* did not think ſo, when he ſaid, *Nam genus & proavos & quæ non fecimus ipſi, vix ea noſtra voco.*

Cleo. A pretty piece of Modeſty in a Speech, where a Man takes Pains to prove that *Jupiter* was his Great Grandfather. What ſignifies a Theory, which a Man deſtroys by his Practice? Did you ever know a Perſon of Quality pleas'd with being call'd a Baſtard, tho' he owed his Being, as well as his Greatneſs, chiefly to his Mother's Impudicity.

Hor. By things acquired, I thought you meant Learning and Virtue; how come you to talk of Birth and Deſcent?

Cleo. By ſhewing you, that Men are unwilling to have any thing that is honourable ſeparated from themſelves, tho' it is remote from, and has nothing to do with their Perſons: I would convince you of the little Probability there is, that we ſhould be pleaſed with being conſider'd, abſtract from what really belongs to us; and Qualifications, that in the Opinion of the beſt and wiſeſt are the only things, for which we ought to be valued. When Men are well-accompliſh'd, they are aſhamed of the loweſt Steps, from which they roſe to that Perfection; and the more civiliz'd they are, the more they think it injurious, to have their Nature ſeen, without the Improvements that have been made upon it. The moſt

moſt correct Authors would bluſh to ſee every thing publiſh'd, which in the compoſing of their Works they blotted out, and ſtifled; and which yet it is certain they once conceiv'd: For this Reaſon they are juſtly compared to Architects, that remove the Scaffolding before they ſhew their Buildings. All Ornaments beſpeak the Value we have for the Things adorn'd. Don't you think, that the firſt red or white that ever was laid upon a Face, and the firſt falſe Hair that was wore, were put on with great Secrecy, and with a Deſign to deceive?

Hor. In *France* Painting is now look'd upon as Part of a Woman's Dreſs; they make no Myſtery of it.

Cleo. So it is with all the Impoſitions of this nature, when they come to be ſo groſs that they can be hid no longer; as Men's Perukes all over *Europe:* But if theſe things could be conceal'd, and were not known, the Tawny Coquette would heartily wiſh, that the ridiculous Dawbing ſhe plaiſters herſelf with, might paſs for Complexion; and the bald-pated Beau would be as glad, to have his full-botom'd Wig look'd upon as a natural head of Hair. No body puts in artificial Teeth, but to hide the Loſs of his own.

Hor. But is not a Man's Knowledge a real Part of himſelf?

Cleo. Yes, and ſo is his Politeneſs; but neither of them belong to his Nature, any more

more than his Gold Watch or his Diamond Ring; and even from theſe he endeavours to draw a Value and Reſpect to his Perſon. The moſt admired among the faſhionable People that delight in outward Vanity, and know how to dreſs well, would be highly diſpleas'd if their Clothes, and Skill in putting them on, ſhould be look'd upon otherwiſe than as Part of themſelves; nay, it is this Part of them only, which whilſt they are unknown, can procure them Acceſs to the higheſt Companies, the Courts of Princes; where it is manifeſt, that both Sexes are either admitted or refuſed, by no other Judgment than what is form'd of them from their Dreſs, without the leaſt Regard to their Goodneſs, or their Underſtanding.

Hor. I believe I apprehend you. It is our Fondneſs of that Self, which we hardly know what it conſiſts in, that could firſt make us think of embelliſhing our Perſons; and when we have taken Pains in correcting, poliſhing, and beautifying Nature, the ſame Self-love makes us unwilling to have the Ornaments ſeen ſeparately from the Thing adorned.

Cleo. The Reaſon is obvious. It is that Self we are in love with, before it is adorn'd as well as after, and every thing which is confeſs'd to be acquired, ſeems to point at our original Nakedneſs, and to upbraid us with our natural Wants; I would ſay, the Meanneſs and Deficiency of our Nature.

That

That no Bravery is ſo uſeful in War, as that which is artificial, is undeniable; yet the Soldier that by Art and Diſcipline has manifeſtly been trick'd and wheedled into Courage, after he has behaved himſelf in two or three Battles with Intrepidity, will never endure to hear, that he has not natural Valour; tho' all his Acquaintance, as well as himſelf, remember the time, that he was an arrant Coward.

Hor. But ſince the Love, Affection, and Benevolence, we naturally have for our Species, is not greater than other Creatures have for theirs, how comes it, that Man gives more ample Demonſtrations of this Love on thouſand Occaſions, than any other Animal?

Cleo. Becauſe no other Animal has the ſame Capacity or Opportunity to do it. But you may ask the ſame of his Hatred: The greater Knowledge and the more Wealth and Power a Man has, the more capable he is of rendring others ſenſible of the Paſſion he is affected with, as well when he hates as when he loves them. The more a Man remains unciviliz'd, and the leſs he is remov'd from the State of Nature, the leſs his Love is to be depended upon.

Hor. There is more Honeſty and leſs Deceit among plain, untaught People, than there is among thoſe that are more artful; and therefore I ſhou'd have look'd for true Love and unfeign'd Affection, among thoſe that live

in

in a natural Simplicity, rather than any where elſe.

Cleo. You ſpeak of Sincerity; but the Love which I ſaid was leſs to be depended upon in untaught than in civilis'd People, I ſuppoſed to be real and ſincere in both. Artful People may diſſemble Love, and pretend to Friendſhip, where they have none; but they are influenc'd by their Paſſions, and natural Appetites, as well as Savages, though they gratify them in another manner. Well-bred People behave themſelves in the Choice of Diet and the taking of their Repaſtes, very differently from Savages; ſo they do in their Amours; but Hunger and Luſt are the ſame in both. An artful Man, nay, the greateſt Hypocrite, whatever his Behaviour is abroad, may love his Wife and Children at his Heart, and the ſincereſt Man can do no more. My Buſineſs is to demonſtrate to you, that the good Qualities Men compliment our Nature and the whole Species with, are the Reſult of Art and Education. The Reaſon why Love is little to be depended upon in thoſe that are uncivilis'd, is becauſe the Paſſions in them are more fleeting and inconſtant; they oftener joſtle out and ſucceed one another, than they are and do in well-bred People, Perſons that are well educated, have learn'd to ſtudy their Eaſe, and the Comforts of Life; to tye themſelves up to Rules and Decorums for their own Advantage, and often to ſubmit to ſmall

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Inconveniencies to avoid greater. Among the loweſt Vulgar, and thoſe of the meaneſt Education of all, you ſeldom ſee a laſting Harmony: You ſhall have a Man and his Wife, that have a real Affection for one another, be full of Love one Hour, and diſagree the next, for a Trifle; and the Lives of many are made miſerable from no other Faults in themſelves, than their Want of Manners and Diſcretion. Without Deſign they will often talk imprudently, 'till they raiſe one another's Anger; which neither of them being able to ſtifle, ſhe ſcolds at him; he beats her; ſhe burſts out into Tears; this moves him, he is ſorry; both repent, and are Friends again; and with all the Sincerity imaginable reſolve never to quarrel for the future, as long as they live: All this will paſs between them in leſs than half a Day, and will perhaps be repeated once a Month, or oftner, as Provocations offer, or either of them is more or leſs prone to Anger. Affection never remain'd long uninterrupted between two Perſons, without Art; and the beſt Friends, if they are always together, will fall out, unleſs great Diſcretion be uſed on both Sides.

Hor. I have always been of your Opinion, that the more Men were civiliſ'd the happier they were; but ſince Nations can never be made polite, but by length of Time, and Mankind muſt have been always miſerable before they had written Laws, how come Poets

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and others to launch out ſo much in praiſe of the Golden Age, in which they pretend there was ſo much Peace, Love, and Sincerity?

Cleo. For the ſame reaſon, that Heralds compliment obſcure Men of unknown Extraction with illuſtrious Pedigrees: As there is no Mortal of high deſcent, but who values himſelf upon his Family, ſo extolling the Virtue and Happineſs of their Anceſtors, can never fail pleaſing every Member of a Society: But what Streſs would you lay upon the Fictions of Poets?

Hor. You reaſon very clearly, and with great Freedom, againſt all heathen Superſtition, and never ſuffer yourſelf to be impoſed upon by any Fraud from that Quarter; but when you meet with any thing belonging to the *Jewiſh* or Chriſtian Religion, you are as credulous as any of the Vulgar.

Cleo. I am ſorry you ſhould think ſo.

Hor. What I ſay is fact. A Man that contentedly ſwallows every thing that is ſaid of *Noah* and his Ark, ought not to laugh at the Story of *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha*.

Cleo. Is it as credible, that human Creatures ſhould ſpring from Stones, becauſe an old Man and his Wife threw them over their Heads; as that a Man and his Family, with a great Number of Birds and Beaſts, ſhould be preſerv'd in a large Ship, made convenient for that Purpoſe?

Hor.

Hor. But you are partial: What odds is there between a Stone and a Lump of Earth, for either of them to become a human Creature? I can as eaſily conceive how a Stone ſhould be turn'd into a Man or a Woman, as how a Man or a Woman ſhould be turn'd into a Stone; and I think it not more ſtrange, that a Woman ſhould be chang'd into a Tree, as was *Daphne*, or into Marble as *Niobe*, than that ſhe ſhould be transform'd into a Pillar of Salt, as the Wife of *Lot* was. Pray ſuffer me to catechize you a little.

Cleo. You'll hear me afterwards, I hope.

Hor. Yes, yes. Do you believe *Heſiod*?

Cleo. No.

Hor. *Ovid*'s Metamorphoſis?

Cleo. No.

Hor. But you believe the Story of *Adam* and *Eve*, and Paradiſe.

Cleo. Yes.

Hor. That they were produced at once, I mean at their full Growth; he from a Lump of Earth, and ſhe from one of his Ribbs?

Cleo. Yes.

Hor. And that as ſoon as they were made, they could ſpeak, reaſon, and were endued with Knowledge?

Cleo. Yes.

Hor. In ſhort, you believe the Innocence, the Delight, and all the Wonders of Paradiſe, that are related by one Man; at the ſame time that you will not believe what has been told

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us by many, of the Uprightneſs, the Concord, and the Happineſs of a Golden Age.

Cleo. That's very true.

Hor. Now give me leave to ſhew you, how unaccountable, as well as partial; you are in this. In the firſt Place, the Things naturally impoſſible, which you believe, are contrary to your own Doctrine, the Opinion you have laid down, and which I believe to be true: For you have proved, that no Man would ever be able to ſpeak, unleſs he was taught it; that Reaſoning and Thinking come upon us by ſlow Degrees; and that we can know nothing that has not from without been conveyed to the Brain, and communicated to us through the Organs of the Senſes. Secondly, in what you reject as fabulous, there is no manner of Improbability. We know from Hiſtory, and daily Experience teaches us, that almoſt all the Wars and private Quarrels, that have at any time diſturbed Mankind, have had their Riſe from the Differences about Superiority, and the *meum & tuum*: Therefore before Cunning, Covetouſneſs, and Deceit crept into the World, before Titles of Honour, and the Diſtinction between Servant and Maſter were known: Why might not moderate Numbers of People have lived together in Peace and Amity, when they enjoy'd every thing in common; and have been content with the Product of the Earth in a fertile Soil and a happy Climate? Why can't you believe this?

Cleo. Becauſe it is inconſiſtent with the Nature of human Creatures, that any Number of them ſhould ever live together in tolerable Concord, without Laws or Government, let the Soil, the Climate, and their Plenty be whatever the moſt luxuriant Imagination ſhall be pleas'd to fancy them. But *Adam* was altogether the Workmanſhip of God; a præternatural Production: His Speech and Knowledge, his Goodneſs and Innocence were as miraculous, as every other Part of his Frame.

Hor. Indeed, *Cleomenes*, this is inſufferable; when we are talking Philoſophy you foiſt in Miracles: Why may not I do the ſame, and ſay that the People of the Golden Age were made happy by Miracle?

Cleo. It is more probable, that one Miracle ſhould at a ſtated time have produced a Male and Female, from whom all the reſt of Mankind are deſcended in a natural Way; than that by a continued Series of Miracles ſeveral Generations of People ſhould have all been made to live and act contrary to their Nature; for this muſt follow from the Account we have of the Golden and Silver Ages. In *Moſes*, the firſt natural Man, the firſt that was born of a Woman, by envying and ſlaying his Brother, gives an ample Evidence of the domineering Spirit, and the Principle of Sovereignty, which I have aſſerted to belong to our Nature.

Hor.

Hor. You will not be counted credulous, and yet you believe all thoſe Stories, which even ſome of our Divines have call'd ridiculous, if literally underſtood. But I don't inſiſt upon the Golden Age, if you'll give up Paradiſe: A Man of Senſe, and a Philoſopher, ſhould believe neither.

Cleo. Yet you have told me that you believ'd the Old and New Teſtament.

Hor. I never ſaid, that I believ'd every thing that is in them in a litteral Senſe. But why ſhould you believe Miracles at all?

Cleo. Becauſe I can't help it: and I promiſe never to mention the Name to you again, if you can ſhew me the bare Poſſibility, that Man could have ever been produced, brought into the World, without Miracle. Do you believe there ever was a Man, who had made himſelf?

Hor. No: That's a plain Contradiction.

Cleo. Then it is manifeſt the firſt Man muſt have been made by ſomething; and what I ſay of Man, I may ſay of all Matter and Motion in general. The Doctrine of *Epicurus*, that every thing is deriv'd from the Concourſe and fortuitous Jumble of Atoms, is monſtrous and extravagant beyond all other Follies.

Hor. Yet there is no mathematical Demonſtration againſt it.

Cleo. Nor is there one to prove, that the Sun is not in Love with the Moon, if one had a Mind to advance it: and yet I think it a

greater Reproach to human Underſtanding, to believe either, than it is to believe the moſt childiſh Stories that are told of Fairies and Hobgoblins.

Hor. But there is an Axiom very little inferior to a mathematical Demonſtration, *ex nihilo nihil fit*, that is directly claſhing with and contradicts the Creation out of Nothing. Do you underſtand, how Something can come from Nothing?

Cleo. I do not, I confeſs, any more than I can comprehend Eternity, or the Deity itſelf: but when I cannot comprehend what my Reaſon aſſures me muſt neceſſarily exiſt, there is no Axiom or Demonſtration clearer to me, than that the Fault lies in my want of Capacity, the Shallowneſs of my Underſtanding. From the little we know of the Sun and Stars, their Magnitudes, Diſtances, and Motion; and what we are more nearly acquainted with, the groſs, viſible Parts in the Structure of Animals, and their Oeconomy, it is demonſtrable, that they are the Effects of an intelligent Cauſe, and the Contrivance of a Being infinite in Wiſdom as well as Power.

Hor. But let Wiſdom be as ſuperlative, and Power as extenſive as it is poſſible for them to be, ſtill it is impoſſible to conceive, how they ſhould exert themſelves, unleſs they had ſomething to act upon.

Cleo. This is not the only thing which, tho' it be true, we are not able to conceive:

How came the firſt Man to exiſt? and yet here we are. Heat and Moiſture are the plain Effects from manifeſt Cauſes, and tho' they bear a great Sway, even in the mineral as well as the animal and vegetable World; yet they cannot produce a Sprig of Graſs, without a previous Seed.

Hor. As we our ſelves, and every thing we ſee, are the undoubted Parts of ſome one Whole, ſome are of Opinion, that this all the τὸ πᾶν, the Univerſe, was from all Eternity.

Cleo. This is not more ſatisfactory or comprehenſible, than the Syſtem of *Epicurus*, who derives every thing from wild Chance, and an undeſign'd Struggle of ſenſeleſs Atoms. When we behold things, which our Reaſon tells us could not have been produced without Wiſdom and Power, in a degree far beyond our Comprehenſion, can any thing be more contrary to, or claſhing with that ſame Reaſon, than that the things, in which that high Wiſdom and great Power are viſibly diſplay'd, ſhould be coeval with the Wiſdom and Power themſelves, that contriv'd and wrought them? Yet this Doctrine, which is *Spinoſiſm* in Epitome, after having been neglected many Years, begins to prevail again, and the Atoms loſe ground: for of Atheiſm, as well as Superſtition, there are different Kinds, that have their Periods and Returns, after they have been long exploded.

Hor. What makes you couple together two things ſo diametrically oppoſite?

Cleo. There is greater Affinity between them than you imagine: They are of the ſame Origin.

Hor. What, Atheiſm and Superſtition!

Cleo. Yes, indeed; they both have their Riſe from the ſame Cauſe, the ſame Defect in the Mind of Man, our want of Capacity in diſcerning Truth, and natural Ignorance of the Divine Eſſence. Men, that from their moſt early Youth have not been imbued with the Principles of the true Religion, and have not afterwards continued to be ſtrictly educated in the ſame, are all in great Danger of falling either into the one or the other, according to the Difference there is in the Temperament and Complexion they are of, the Circumſtances they are in, and the Company they converſe with. Weak Minds, and thoſe that are brought up in Ignorance, and a low Condition, ſuch as are much expoſed to Fortune, Men of ſlaviſh Principles, the Covetous and Mean-ſpirited, are all naturally inclin'd to, and eaſily ſuſceptible of Superſtition; and there is no Abſurdity ſo groſs, nor Contradiction ſo plain, which the Dregs of the People, moſt Gameſters, and nineteen Women in twenty, may not be taught to Believe, concerning inviſible Cauſes. Therefore Multitudes are never tainted with Irreligion; and, the leſs civiliz'd Nations are, the more bound-

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leſs is their Credulity. On the contrary, Men of Parts and Spirit, of Thought and Reflection, the Aſſertors of Liberty, ſuch as meddle with Mathematicks and natural Philoſophy, moſt inquiſitive Men, the diſintereſted, that live in Eaſe and Plenty; if their Youth has been neglected, and they are not well grounded in the Principles of the true Religion, are prone to Infidelity; eſpecially ſuch amongſt them, whoſe Pride and Sufficiency are greater than ordinary; and if Perſons of this ſort fall into Hands of Unbelievers, they run great Hazard of becoming *Atheiſts* or *Scepticks*.

Hor. The Method of Education you recommend, in pinning Men down to an Opinion, may be very good to make Bigots, and raiſe a ſtrong Party to the Prieſts; but to have good Subjects, and moral Men, nothing is better than to inſpire Youth with the Love of Virtue, and ſtrongly to imbue them with Sentiments of Juſtice and Probity, and the true Notions of Honour and Politeneſs. Theſe are the true *Specificks* to cure Man's Nature, and deſtroy in him the Savage Principles of Sovereignty and Selfiſhneſs, that infeſt and are ſo miſchievous to it. As to religious Matters, prepoſſeſſing the Mind, and forcing Youth into a Belief, is more partial and unfair, than it is to leave them unbiaſs'd, and unprejudiced till they come to Maturity, and are fit to judge, as well as chuſe for themſelves.

Cleo. It is this fair and impartial Management you ſpeak in praiſe of, that will ever promote and encreaſe Unbelief; and nothing has contributed more to the growth of Deiſm in this Kingdom, than the Remiſneſs of Education in Sacred Matters, which for ſome time has been in Faſhion among the better ſort.

Hor. The Publick Welfare ought to be our principal Care; and I am well aſſured, that it is not Bigotry to a Sect or Perſuaſion; but common Honeſty, Uprightneſs in all Dealings, and Benevolence to one another, which the Society ſtands moſt in need of.

Hor. I don't ſpeak up for Bigotry; and where the Chriſtian Religion is thoroughly taught, as it ſhould be, it is impoſſible, that Honeſty, Uprightneſs, or Benevolence ſhould ever be forgot; and no Appearances of thoſe Virtues are to be truſted to, unleſs they proceed from that Motive; for without the Belief of another World, a Man is under no Obligation for his Sincerity in this: His very Oath is no Tye upon him.

Hor. What is it upon an Hypocrite, that dares to be perjured?

Cleo. No Man's Oath is ever taken, if it is known that once he has been forſworn; nor can I ever be deceiv'd by an Hypocrite, when he tells me that he is one; and I ſhall never believe a Man to be an Atheiſt, unleſs he owns it himſelf.

Hor.

Hor. I don't believe there are real Atheiſts in the World.

Cleo. I won't quarrel about Words; but our Modern Deiſm is no greater Security than Atheiſm: For a Man's acknowledging the Being of a God, even an intelligent firſt Cauſe, is of no uſe, either to himſelf or others, if he denies a Providence and a Future State.

Hor. After all, I don't think, that Virtue has any more Relation to Credulity, than it has to Want of Faith.

Cleo. Yet it would and ought to have, if we were conſiſtent with ourſelves; and if Men were ſway'd in their Actions by the Principles they ſide with, and the Opinion they profeſs themſelves to be of, all Atheiſts would be Devils, and ſuperſtitious Men Saints: But this is not true; there are Atheiſts of good Morals, and great Villains ſuperſtitious: Nay, I don't believe, there is any Wickedneſs that the worſt Atheiſt can commit, but ſuperſtitious Men may be guilty of it; Impiety not excepted; for nothing is more common amongſt Rakes and Gameſters, than to hear Men blaſpheme, that believe in Spirits, and are afraid of the Devil. I have no greater Opinion of Superſtition, than I have of Atheiſm; what I aim'd at, was to prevent and guard againſt both; and I am perſuaded, that there is no other Antidote, to be obtain'd by human Means, ſo powerful and infallible againſt the Poyſon of either, as what I have mention'd. As to the Truth,

Truth of our Deſcent from *Adam*, I would not be a Believer, and ceaſe to be a rational Creature: what I have to ſay for it, is this. We are convinc'd, that human Underſtanding is limited; and by the help of very little Reflection, we may be as certain, that the Narrowneſs of its bounds, its being ſo limited, is the very thing, the ſole Cauſe, which palpably hinders us from diving into our Origin by dint of Penetration: the Conſequence is, that to come at the Truth of this Origin, which is of very great Concern to us, ſomething is to be believ'd: But what or whom to believe is the Queſtion. If I cannot demonſtrate to you, that *Moſes* was divinely inſpired, you'll be forc'd to confeſs, that there never was any thing more extraordinary in the World, than that in a moſt ſuperſtitious Age one Man brought up among the groſſeſt Idolaters, that had the vileſt and moſt abominable Notions of the Godhead, ſhould, without Help as we know of, find out the moſt hidden and moſt important Truths by his natural Capacity only; for, beſides the deep Inſight he had in human Nature, as appears from the Decalogue, it is manifeſt, that he was acquainted with the Creation out of nothing, the Unity and immenſe Greatneſs of that inviſible Power, that has made the Univerſe; and that he taught this to the *Iſraëlites*, fifteen Centuries before any other Nation upon Earth was ſo far enlighten'd: It is undeniable moreover, that the

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Hiſtory of *Moſes*, concerning the Beginning of the World and Mankind, is the moſt ancient and leaſt improbable of any that are extant; that others, who have wrote after him on the ſame Subject, appear moſt of them to be imperfect Copiers of him; and that the Relations, which ſeem not to have been borrow'd from *Moſes*, as the Accounts we have of *Sommona-codom*, *Confucius*, and others, are leſs rational, and fifty times more extravagant, and incredible, than any thing contain'd in the *Pentateuch*. As to the things reveal'd, the Plan itſelf, abſtract from Faith and Religion; when we have weigh'd every Syſtem, that has been advanced, we ſhall find; that, ſince we muſt have had a Beginning, nothing is more rational or more agreeable to good Senſe, than to derive our Origin from an incomprehenſible creative Power, that was the firſt Mover and Author of all things.

Hor. I never heard any Body entertain higher Notions, or more noble Sentiments of the Deity, than at different times I have heard from you; pray, when you read *Moſes*, don't you meet with ſeveral Things in the Oeconomy of Paradiſe, and the Converſation between God and *Adam*, that ſeem to be low, unworthy, and altogether inconſiſtent with the ſublime Ideas, you are uſed to form of the Supreme Being?

Cleo. I freely own, not only that I have thought ſo, but likewiſe that I have long

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ſtumbled at it: But when I conſider, on the one hand, that the more human Knowledge encreaſes, the more conſummate and unerring the Divine Wiſdom appears to be, in every thing we can have any Inſight into; and on the other, that the things hitherto detected, either by Chance or Induſtry, are very inconſiderable, both in Number and Value, if compared to the vaſt Multitude of weightier Matters, that are left behind, and remain ſtill undiſcover'd: When, I ſay, I conſider theſe things, I can't help thinking, that there may be very wiſe Reaſons for what we find Fault with, that are, and perhaps ever will be, unknown to Men as long as the World endures.

Hor. But why ſhould we remain labouring under Difficulties, we can eaſily ſolve, and not ſay with Dr. *Burnet* and ſeveral others, that thoſe things are Allegories, and to be underſtood in a figurative Senſe?

Cleo. I have nothing againſt it; and ſhall always applaud the Ingenuity and good Offices of Men, who endeavour to reconcile Religious Myſteries to human Reaſon and Probability; but I inſiſt upon it, that no Body can diſprove any thing that is ſaid in the *Pentateuch* in the moſt literal Senſe; and I defy the Wit of Man to frame or contrive a Story, the beſt concerted Fable they can invent, how Man came into the World, which I ſhall not find as much Fault with, and be able to make as ſtrong Objections to, as the Enemies of Reli-

Religion have found with, and rais'd againſt the Account of *Moſes*: If I may be allow'd to take the ſame Liberty with their known Forgery, which they take with the Bible, before they have brought one Argument againſt the Veracity of it.

Hor. It may be ſo. But as firſt I was the Occaſion of this long Digreſſion, by mentioning the Golden Age; ſo now, I deſire we may return to our Subject. What Time, how many Ages, do you think, it would require to have a well-civiliz'd Nation from ſuch a Savage Pair as yours?

Cleo. That's very uncertain; and I believe it impoſſible, to determine any thing about it. From what has been ſaid, it is manifeſt, that the Family deſcending from ſuch a Stock, would be crumbled to pieces, re-united, and diſpers'd again ſeveral times, before the whole or any part of it could be advanced to any degree of Politeneſs. The beſt Forms of Government are ſubject to Revolutions, and a great many things muſt concur, to keep a Society of Men together, till they become a civiliz'd Nation.

Hor. Is not a vaſt deal owing, in the raiſing of a Nation, to the difference there is in the Spirit and Genius of People?

Cleo. Nothing, but what depends upon Climates, which is ſoon over-ballanc'd by skilful Government. Courage and Cowardice, in all Bodies of Men, depend entirely upon Exerciſe

ciſe and Diſcipline. Arts and Sciences ſeldom come before Riches, and both flow in faſter or ſlower, according to the Capacity of the Governours, the Situation of the People, and the Opportunities they have of Improvements; but the firſt is the Chief: To preſerve Peace and Tranquility among Multitudes of different Views, and make them all labour for one Intereſt, is a great Task; and nothing in human Affairs requires greater Knowledge, than the Art of Governing.

Hor. According to your Syſtem, it ſhould be little more, than guarding againſt human Nature.

Cleo. But it is a great while, before that Nature can be rightly underſtood; and it is the Work of Ages to find out the true Uſe of the Paſſions, and to raiſe a Politician, that can make every Frailty of the Members add Strength to the whole Body, and by dextrous Management turn *private Vices into publick Benefits.*

Hor. It muſt be a great Advantage to an Age, when many extraordinary Perſons are born in it.

Cleo. It is not Genius, ſo much as Experience, that helps Men to good Laws: *Solon*, *Lycurgus*, *Socrates* and *Plato* all travell'd for their Knowledge, which they communicated to others. The wiſeſt Laws of human Invention are generally owing to the Evaſions of bad Men, whoſe Cunning had eluded the Force

Force of former Ordinances, that had been made with leſs Caution.

Hor. I fancy that the Invention of Iron, and working the Oar into a Metal, muſt contribute very much to the completing of Society; becauſe Men can have no Tools nor Agriculture without it.

Cleo. Iron is certainly very uſeful; but Shells and Flints, and hardning of Wood by Fire, are Subſtitutes, that Men make a Shift with; if they can but have Peace, live in Quiet, and enjoy the Fruits of their Labour. Could you ever have believ'd, that a Man without Hands could have ſhaved himſelf, wrote good Characters, and made uſe of a Needle and Thread with his Feet? Yet this we have ſeen. It is ſaid by ſome Men of Reputation, that the *Americans* in *Mexico* and *Peru* have all the Signs of an infant World; becauſe when the *Europeans* firſt came among them, they wanted a great many things, that ſeem to be of eaſy Invention. But conſidering, that they had no Body to borrow from, and no Iron at all, it is amaſing which way they could arrive at the Perfection we found them in. Firſt, it is impoſſible to know, how long Multitudes may have been troubleſome to one another, before the Invention of Letters came among them, and they had any written Laws. Secondly, from the many Chaſms in Hiſtory we know by Experience, that the Accounts of Tranſactions and Times in which Lettes are known, amy

may be entirely loſt. Wars and human Diſcord may deſtroy the moſt civiliz'd Nations, only by diſperſing them; and general Devaſtations ſpare Arts and Sciences no more than they do Cities and Palaces. That all Men are born with a ſtrong Deſire, and no Capacity at all to govern, has occaſion'd an Infinity of Good and Evil. Invaſions and Perſecutions, by mixing and ſcattering our Species, have made ſtrange Alterations in the World. Sometimes large Empires are divided into ſeveral Parts, and produce new Kingdoms and Principalities; at others, great Conquerors in few Years bring different Nations under one Dominion. From the Decay of the *Roman* Empire alone we may learn, that Arts and Sciences are more periſhable, much ſooner loſt, than Buildings or Inſcriptions; and that a Deluge of Ignorance may overſpread Countries, without their ceaſing to be inhabited.

Hor. But what is it at laſt, that raiſes opulent Cities and powerful Nations from the ſmalleſt Beginnings?

Cleo. Providence.

Hor. But Providence makes uſe of Means that are viſible; I want to know the Engines it is perform'd with.

Cleo. All the Ground Work, that is required to aggrandiſe Nations, you have ſeen in *the Fable of the Bees*. All ſound Politicks, and the whole Art of governing, are entirely built upon the Knowledge of human Nature. The great

great Buſineſs in general of a Politician is to promote, and, if he can, reward all good and uſeful Actions on the one hand; and on the other, to puniſh, or at leaſt diſcourage, every thing that is deſtructive or hurtful to Society. To name Particulars would be an endleſs Task. Anger, Luſt, and Pride may be the Cauſes of innumerable Miſchiefs, that are all carefully to be guarded againſt: But ſetting them aſide, the Regulations only, that are required to defeat and prevent all the Machinations and Contrivances, that Avarice and Envy may put Man upon, to the Detriment of his Neighbour, are almoſt infinite. Would you be convinc'd of theſe Truths, do but employ yourſelf for a Month or two, in ſurveying and minutely examining into every Art and Science, every Trade, Handicraft and Occupation, that are profeſs'd and follow'd in ſuch a City as *London*; and all the Laws, Prohibitions, Ordinances and Reſtrictions, that have been found abſolutely neceſſary, to hinder both private Men and Bodies corporate, in ſo many different Stations, firſt from interfering with the Publick Peace and Welfare; ſecondly, from openly wronging and ſecretly over-reaching, or any other way injuring, one another: If you will give yourſelf this Trouble, you will find the Number of Clauſes and Proviſo's, to govern a large flouriſhing City well, to be prodigious beyond Imagination; and yet every one of them tending to the ſame

Purpoſe, the curbing, reſtraining and diſappointing the inordinate Paſſions, and hurtful Frailties of Man. You will find moreover, which is ſtill more to be admired, the greater part of the Articles, in this vaſt Multitude of Regulations, when well underſtood, to be the Reſult of conſummate Wiſdom.

Hor. How could theſe things exiſt, if there had not been Men of very bright Parts and uncommon Talents?

Cleo. Among the things I hint at, there are very few, that are the Work of one Man, or of one Generation; the greateſt part of them are the Product, the joynt Labour of ſeveral Ages. Remember, what in our third Converſation I told you, concerning the Arts of Ship-building and Politeneſs. The Wiſdom I ſpeak of, is not the Offspring of a fine Underſtanding, or intenſe Thinking, but of ſound and deliberate Judgment, acquired from a long Experience in Buſineſs, and a Multiplicity of Obſervations. By this ſort of Wiſdom, and Length of Time, it may be brought about, that there ſhall be no greater Difficulty in governing a large City, than (pardon the Lowneſs of the Simile) there is in weaving of Stockings.

Hor. Very low indeed.

Cleo. Yet I know nothing to which the Laws and eſtabliſh'd Oeconomy of a well-order'd City may be more juſtly compared, than the Knitting-frame. The Machine, at firſt

firſt View, is intricate and unintelligible; yet the Effects of it are exact and beautiful; and in what is produced by it, there is a ſurprizing Regularity: But the Beauty and Exactneſs in the Manufacture are principally, if not altogether, owing to the Happineſs of the Invention, the Contrivance of the Engine. For the greateſt Artiſt at it can furniſh us with no better Work, than may be made by almoſt any Scoundrel after half a Year's Practice.

Hor. Tho' your Compariſon be low, I muſt own, that it very well illuſtrates your Meaning.

Cleo. Whilſt you ſpoke, I have thought of another; which is better. It is common now, to have Clocks, that are made to play ſeveral Tunes with great Exactneſs: The Study and Labour, as well as Trouble of Diſappointments, which, in doing and undoing, ſuch a Contrivance muſt neceſſarily have coſt from the Beginning to the End, are not to be thought of without Aſtoniſhment: There is ſomething analogous to this in the Government of a flouriſhing City, that has laſted uninterrupted for ſeveral Ages: There is no Part of the wholeſome Regulations, belonging to it, even the moſt trifling and minute, about which great Pains and Conſideration have not been employ'd, as well as Length of Time; and if you will look into the Hiſtory and Antiquity of any ſuch City, you will find that the Changes, Repeals, Additions and A-

mendments, that have been made in and to the Laws and Ordinances by which it is ruled, are in Number prodigious: But that when once they are brought to as much Perfection, as Art and human Wiſdom can carry them, the whole Machine may be made to play of itſelf, with as little Skill, as is required to wind up a Clock; and the Government of a large City, once put into good Order, the Magiſtrates only following their Noſes, will continue to go right for a great while, tho' there was not a wiſe Man in it: Provided that the Care of Providence was to watch over it in the ſame manner as it did before.

Hor. But ſuppoſing the Government of a large City, when it is once eſtabliſh'd, to be very eaſy, it is not ſo with whole States and Kingdoms: Is it not a great Bleſſing to a Nation, to have all Places of Honour and great Truſt fill'd with Men of Parts and Application, of Probity and Virtue?

Cleo. Yes; and of Learning, Moderation, Frugality, Candour and Affability: Look out for ſuch as faſt as you can: But in the mean time the Places can't ſtand open, the Offices muſt be ſerved by ſuch as you can get.

Hor. You ſeem to inſinuate, that there is a great Scarcity of good Men in the Nation.

Cleo. I don't ſpeak of our Nation in particular, but of all States and Kingdoms in general. What I would ſay is, that it is the Intereſt of every Nation to have their Home Go-

Government, and every Branch of the Civil Adminiſtration, ſo wiſely contriv'd, that every Man of midling Capacity and Reputation may be fit for any of the higheſt Poſts.

Hor. That's abſolutely impoſſible, at leaſt in ſuch a Nation as ours: For what would you do for Judges and Chancellours?

Cleo. The Study of the Law is very crabbed and very tedious; but the Profeſſion of it is as gainful, and has great Honours annex'd to it: The Conſequence of this is, that few come to be eminent in it, but Men of tolerable Parts and great Application. And whoever is a good Lawyer, and not noted for Diſhoneſty, is always fit to be a Judge, as ſoon as he is old and grave enough. To be a Lord Chancellour indeed, requires higher Talents; and he ought not only to be a good Lawyer and an honeſt Man, but likewiſe a Perſon of general Knowledge, and great Penetration. But this is but one Man; and conſidering, what I have ſaid of the Law, and the Power which Ambition and the Love of Gain have upon Mankind, it is morally impoſſible, that, in the common Courſe of Things among the Practicioners in *Chancery*, there ſhould not at all times be one or other fit for the Seals.

Hor. Muſt not every Nation have Men that are fit for Publick Negotiations, and Perſons of great Capacity to ſerve for Envoys, Ambaſſadors and Plenipotentiaries? muſt they not

have others at Home, that are likewiſe able to treat with Foreign Miniſters?

Cleo. That every Nation muſt have ſuch People, is certain; but I wonder, that the Company you have kept both at Home and Abroad, have not convinced you, that the things you ſpeak of require no ſuch extraordinary Qualifications. Among the People of Quality, that are bred up in Courts of Princes, all midling Capacities muſt be Perſons of Addreſs and a becoming Boldneſs, which are the moſt uſeful Talents in all Conferences and Negotiations.

Hor. In a Nation ſo involved in Debts of different kinds, and loaded with ſuch a Variety of Taxes, as ours is, to be thoroughly acquainted with all the Funds, and the Appropriations of them, muſt be a Science not to be attain'd to without good natural Parts and great Application; and therefore the chief Management of the Treaſury muſt be a Poſt of the higheſt Truſt, as well as endleſs Difficulty.

Cleo. I don't think ſo: Moſt Branches of the Publick Adminiſtration are in reality leſs difficult to thoſe, that are in them, than they ſeem to be to thoſe that are out of them, and are Strangers to them. If a Jack and the Weights of it were out of Sight, a ſenſible Man, unacquainted with that Matter, would be very much puzzled, if he was to account for

for the regular turning of two or three Spits well loaded, for Hours together; and it is ten to one, but he would have a greater Opinion of the Cook or the Scullion, than either of them deſerved. In all Buſineſs that belong to the *Exchequer*, the Conſtitution does nine parts in ten; and has taken effectual Care, that the happy Perſon, whom the King ſhall be pleas'd to favour with the Superintendency of it, ſhould never be greatly tired or perplex'd with his Office; and likewiſe that the Truſt, the Confidence, that muſt be repoſed in him, ſhould be very near as moderate as his Trouble. By dividing the Employments in a great Office, and ſubdividing them into many parts, every Man's Buſineſs may be made ſo plain and certain, that, when he is a little uſed to it, it is hardly poſſible for him to make Miſtakes: And again, by careful Limitations of every Man's Power, and judicious Cheques upon every Body's Truſt, every Officer's Fidelity may be placed in ſo clear a Light, that, the Moment he forfeits it, he muſt be detected. It is by theſe Arts that the weightieſt Affairs, and a vaſt Multiplicity of them, may be managed with Safety as well as Diſpatch, by ordinary Men, whoſe higheſt Good is Wealth and Pleaſure; and that the utmoſt Regularity may be obſerved in a great Office, and every part of it; at the ſame time, that the whole Oeconomy of it ſeems to be intricate and perplex'd to the laſt degree, not only to Strang-

ers, but the greateſt part of the very Officers that are employ'd in it.

Hor. The Oeconomy of our *Exchequer*, I own, is an admirable Contrivance to prevent Frauds and Encroachments of all kinds; but in the Office, which is at the Head of it, and gives Motion to it, there is greater Latitude.

Cleo. Why ſo? A Lord Treaſurer, or if his Office be executed by Commiſſioners, the Chancellour of the *Exchequer*, are no more lawleſs, and have no greater Power with Impunity to embezle Money, than the meaneſt Clerk that is employ'd under them.

Hor. Is not the King's Warrant their Diſcharge?

Cleo. Yes; for Sums, which the King has a Right to diſpoſe of, or the Payment of Money for Uſes directed by Parliament; not otherwiſe; and if the King, who can do no Wrong, ſhould be impoſed upon, and his Warrant be obtain'd for Money at Random, whether it is appropriated or not, contrary to, or without a direct Order of the Legiſlature, the Treaſurer obeys at his Peril.

Hor. But there are other Poſts, or at leaſt there is one ſtill of higher Moment, and that requires a much greater, and more general Capacity than any yet named.

Cleo. Pardon me: As the Lord Chancellour's is the higheſt Office in Dignity, ſo the Execution of it actually demands greater, and more uncommon Abilities than any other whatever.

Hor.

Hor. What ſay you to the Prime Miniſter, who governs all, and acts immediately under the King?

Cleo. There is no ſuch Officer belonging to our Conſtitution; for by this, the whole Adminiſtration is, for very wiſe Reaſons, divided into ſeveral Branches.

Hor. But who muſt give Orders and Inſtructions to Admirals, Generals, Governours, and all our Miniſters in Foreign Courts? who is to take Care of the King's Intereſt throughout the Kingdom, and of his Safety?

Cleo. The King and his Council, without which, Royal Authority is not ſuppos'd to act, ſuperintend, and govern all; and whatever the Monarch has not a Mind immediately to take care of himſelf, falls in courſe to that part of the Adminiſtration it belongs to, in which every Body has plain Laws to walk by. As to the King's Intereſt, it is the ſame with that of the Nation; his Guards are to take Care of his Perſon; and there is no Buſineſs of what nature ſoever, that can happen in or to the Nation, which is not within the Province, and under the Inſpection of ſome one or other of the great Officers of the Crown, that are all known, dignify'd, and diſtinguiſh'd by their reſpective Titles; and amongſt them, I can aſſure you, there is no ſuch Name as Prime Miniſter.

Hor. But why will you prevaricate with me after this manner? You know yourſelf, and

and all the World knows and ſees, that there is ſuch a Miniſter; and it is eaſily proved, that there always have been ſuch Miniſters: And in the Situation we are, I don't believe a King could do without. When there are a great many diſaffected People in the Kingdom, and Parliament-men are to be choſen, Elections muſt be look'd after with great Care, and a thouſand things are to be done, that are neceſſary, to diſappoint the ſiniſter ends of Malecontents, and keep out the *Pretender*; things of which the Management often requires great Penetration, and uncommon Talents, as well as Secrecy and Diſpatch.

Cleo. How ſincerely ſoever you may ſeem to ſpeak in Defence of theſe Things, *Horatio*, I am ſure, from your Principles, that you are not in earneſt. I am not to judge of the Exigency of our Affairs: But as I would not pry into the Conduct, or ſcan the Actions of Princes, and their Miniſters, ſo I pretend to juſtify or defend no Wiſdom, but that of the Conſtitution itſelf.

Hor. I don't deſire you ſhould: Only tell me, whether you don't think, that a Man, who has and can carry this vaſt Burden upon his Shoulders, and all *Europe*'s Buſineſs in his Breaſt, muſt be a Perſon of a prodigious Genius, as well as general Knowledge, and other great Abilities.

Cleo. That a Man, inveſted with ſo much real Power, and an Authority ſo extenſive, as ſuch

ſuch Miniſters generally have, muſt make a great Figure, and be conſiderable above all other Subjects, is moſt certain: But it is my Opinion, that there are always fifty Men in the Kingdom, that, if employ'd, would be fit for this Poſt, and after a little Practice ſhine in it, to one, who is equally qualify'd to be a Lord High Chancellor of *Great Britain*. A Prime Miniſter has a vaſt, an unſpeakable Advantage, barely by being ſo, and by every Body's knowing him to be, and treating him as, ſuch: A Man, who, in every Office and every Branch of it throughout the Adminiſtration, has the Power, as well as the Liberty, to ask and ſee whom and what he pleaſes, has more Knowledge within his Reach, and can ſpeak of every thing with greater Exactneſs, than any other Man, that is much better vers'd in Affairs, and has ten times greater Capacity. It is hardly poſſible, that an active Man of tolerable Education, that is not deſtitute of a Spirit nor of Vanity, ſhould fail of appearing to be wiſe, vigilant, and expert, who has the Opportunity, whenever he thinks fit, to make uſe of all the Cunning and Experience, as well as Diligence and Labour, of every Officer in the civil Adminiſtration; and if he has but Money enough, and will employ Men to keep up a ſtrict Correſpondence in every Part of the Kingdom, he can remain ignorant of nothing; and there is hardly any Affair or Tranſaction, Civil or Military, Foreign

reign or Domeſtick, which he will not be able greatly to influence, when he has a Mind, either to promote or obſtruct it.

Hor. There ſeems to be a great deal in what you ſay, I muſt confeſs; but I begin to ſuſpect, that what often inclines me to be of your Opinion, is your Dexterity in placing Things in the Light, you would have them ſeen in, and the great Skill you have in depreciating what is valuable, and detracting from Merit.

Cleo. I proteſt, that I ſpeak from my Heart.

Hor. When I reflect on what I have beheld with my own Eyes, and what I ſtill ſee every Day of the Tranſactions, between Stateſmen and Politicians, I am very well aſſured, you are in the wrong: When I conſider all the Stratagems, and the Force, as well as *Fineſſe*, that are made uſe of, to ſupplant and undo Prime Miniſters; the Wit and Cunning, Induſtry and Addreſs, that are employ'd to miſrepreſent all their Actions; the Calumnies and falſe Reports that are ſpread of them, the Ballads and Lampoons that are publiſh'd; the ſet Speeches and ſtudy'd Invectives that are made againſt them; when I conſider, I ſay, and reflect on theſe Things, and every thing elſe that is ſaid and done, either to ridicule or to render them odious, I am convinced; that to defeat ſo much Art and Strength, and diſappoint ſo much Malice and Envy,

Envy, as prime Miniſters are generally attack'd with, require extraordinary Talents: No Man of only common Prudence and Fortitude could maintain himſelf in that Poſt for a Twelve-month, much leſs for many Years together, tho' he underſtood the World very well, and had all the Virtue, Faithfulneſs, and Integrity in it; therefore there muſt be ſome Fallacy in your Aſſertion.

Cleo. Either I have been deficient in explaining myſelf, or elſe I have had the Misfortune to be miſunderſtood: When I inſinuated, that Men might be prime Miniſters without extraordinary Endowments, I ſpoke only in regard to the Buſineſs itſelf, that Province, which if there was no ſuch Miniſter, the King and Council would have the trouble of managing.

Hor. To direct and manage the whole Machine of Government, he muſt be a conſummate Stateſman in the firſt place.

Cleo. You have too ſublime a Notion of that Poſt. To be a conſummate Stateſman, is the higheſt Qualification human Nature is capable of poſſeſſing: To deſerve that Name, a Man muſt be well verſed in ancient and modern Hiſtory, and thoroughly acquainted with all the Courts of *Europe*; that he may know not only the publick Intereſt in every Nation, but likewiſe the private Views, as well as Inclinations, Virtues and Vices of Princes and Miniſters! Of every Country in Chriſten-

Chriſtendom and the Borders of it, he ought to know the Product and Geography; the principal Cities and Fortreſſes; and of theſe, the Trade and Manufactures; their Situation, natural Advantages, Strength and Number of Inhabitants; he muſt have read Men as well as Books, and perfectly well underſtand human Nature, and the uſe of the Paſſions: He muſt moreover be a great Maſter in concealing the Sentiments of his Heart, have an entire Command over his Features, and be well skill'd in all the Wiles and Stratagems to draw out Secrets from others. A Man, of whom all this, or the greateſt Part of it, may not be ſaid with truth, and that he has had great Experience in publick Affairs, cannot be call'd a conſummate Stateſman; but he may be fit to be a prime Miniſter, tho' he had not a hundredth Part of thoſe Qualifications. As the King's Favour creates prime Miniſters, and makes their Station the Poſt of the greateſt Power as well as Profit; ſo the ſame Favour is the only Bottom, which thoſe that are in it have to ſtand upon: The Conſequence is, that the moſt ambitious Men in all Monarchies are ever contending for this Poſt, as the higheſt Prize, of which the Enjoyment is eaſy, and all the Difficulty in obtaining and preſerving it. We ſee accordingly, that the Accompliſhments I ſpoke of to make a Stateſman are neglected, and others aim'd at and ſtudy'd, that are more uſeful and more eaſily acquired.

acquired. The Capacities you obſerve in prime Miniſters, are of another Nature, and conſiſt in being finiſh'd Courtiers, and thoroughly underſtanding the Art of pleaſing and cajoling with Addreſs. To procure a Prince what he wants, when it is known, and to be diligent in entertaining him with the Pleaſures he calls for, are ordinary Services: Asking is no better than Complaining; therefore being forced to ask, is to have Cauſe of Complaint, and to ſee a Prince ſubmit to the Slavery of it, argues great Ruſticity in his Courtiers; a polite Miniſter penetrates into his Maſter's Wiſhes, and furniſhes him with what he delights in, without giving him the trouble to name it. Every common Flatterer can praiſe and extol promiſcuouſly every thing that is ſaid or done; and find Wiſdom and Prudence in the moſt indifferent Actions; but it belongs to the skilful Courtier to ſet fine Gloſſes upon manifeſt Imperfections, and make every Failing, every Frailty of his Prince, have the real Appearance of the Virtues that are the neareſt, or to ſpeak more juſtly, the leaſt oppoſite to them. By the Obſervance of theſe neceſſary Duties it is, that the Favour of Princes may be long preſerv'd as well as obtain'd. Whoever can make himſelf agreeable at a Court, will ſeldom fail of being thought neceſſary; and when a Favourite has once eſtabliſhed himſelf in the good Opinion of his Maſter, it is eaſy for him

him to make his own Family, engroſs the King's Ear, and keep every body from him, but his own Creatures: Nor is it more difficult, in length of time, to turn out of the Adminiſtration every body that was not of his own bringing in, and conſtantly be tripping up the Heels of thoſe, who attempt to raiſe themſelves by any other Intereſt or Aſſiſtance. A prime Miniſter has by his Place great Advantages over all that oppoſe him; one of them is, that no body, without Exception, ever fill'd that Poſt, but who had many Enemies, whether he was a Plunderer or a Patriot: Which being well known, many things that are laid to a prime Miniſter's Charge, are not credited among the impartial and more diſcreet Part of Mankind, even when they are true. As to the defeating and diſappointing all the Envy and Malice they are generally attack'd with; if the Favourite was to do all that himſelf, it would certainly, as you ſay, require extraordinary Talents, and a great Capacity, as well as continual Vigilance and Application; but this is the Province of their Creatures, a Task divided into a great Number of Parts; and every body that has the leaſt Dependance upon, or has any thing to hope from the Miniſter, makes it his Buſineſs and his Study, as it is his Intereſt, on the one hand, to cry up their Patron, magnify his Virtues and Abilities, and juſtify his Conduct; on the other, to exclaim againſt his Adverſaries,

verſaries, blacken their Reputation, and play at them every Engine, and the ſome Stratagems that are made uſe of to ſupplant the Miniſter.

Hor. Then every well-poliſh'd Courtier is fit to be a prime Miniſter, without Learning, or Languages, Skill in Politicks, or any other Qualification beſides.

Cleo. No other than what are often and eaſily met with: It is neceſſary, that he ſhould be a Man, at leaſt, of plain common Senſe, and not remarkable for any groſs Frailties or Imperfections; and of ſuch there is no Scarcity almoſt in any Nation: He ought to be a Man of tolerable Health and Conſtitution, and one who delights in Vanity, that he may reliſh, as well as be able to bear, the gaudy Crouds that honour his Levées; the conſtant Addreſſes, Bows, and Cringes of Solicitors; and the reſt of the Homage that is perpetually paid him. The Accompliſhment he ſtands moſt in need of, is to be bold and reſolute, ſo as not to be eaſily ſhock'd or ruffled; if he be thus qualify'd, has a good Memory, and is moreover able to attend a Multiplicity of Buſineſs, if not with a continual Preſence of Mind, at leaſt ſeemingly without Hurry or Perplexity, his Capacity can never fail of being extoll'd to the Skies.

Hor. You ſay nothing of his Virtue nor his Honeſty; there is a vaſt Truſt put in a prime Miniſter: If he ſhould be covetous and

have no Probity, nor Love for his Country; he might make ſtrange Havock with the Publick Treaſure.

Cleo. There is no Man that has any Pride, but he has ſome Value for his Reputation; and common Prudence is ſufficient to hinder a Man of very indifferent Principles from ſtealing, where he would be in great Danger of being detected, and has no manner of Security that he ſhall not be puniſh'd for it.

Hor. But great Confidence is repoſed in him where he cannot be traced; as in the Money for Secret Services, of which, for Reaſons of State, it may be often improper even to mention, much more to ſcrutinize into the Particulars; and in Negotiations with other Courts, ſhould he be only ſway'd by Selfiſhneſs and private Views, without regard to Virtue or the Publick, is it not in his Power to betray his Country, ſell the Nation, and do all manner of Miſchief?

Cleo. Not amongſt us, where Parliaments are every Year ſitting. In Foreign Affairs nothing of moment can be tranſacted, but what all the World muſt know; and ſhould any thing be done or attempted, that would be palpably ruinous to the Kingdom, and in the Opinion of Natives and Foreigners, groſly and manifeſtly claſhing with our Intereſt, it would raiſe a general Clamour, and throw the Miniſter into Dangers, which no Man of the leaſt Prudence, who intends

to

to ſtay in his Country, would ever run into. As to the Money for Secret Services, and perhaps other Sums, which Miniſters have the Diſpoſal of, and where they have great Latitudes, I don't queſtion, but they have Opportunities of embezling the Nation's Treaſure: But to do this without being diſcover'd, it muſt be done ſparingly, and with great Diſcretion: The malicious Overlookers that envy them their Places, and watch all their Motions, are a great Awe upon them: The Animoſities between thoſe Antagoniſts, and the Quarrels between Parties, are a conſiderable Part of the Nation's Security.

Hor. But would it not be a greater Security to have Men of Honour, of Senſe and Knowledge, of Application and Frugality, preferr'd to publick Employments?

Cleo. Yes, without doubt.

Hor. What Confidence can we have in the Juſtice or Integrity of Men; that, on the one hand, ſhew themſelves on all Occaſions mercenary and greedy after Riches; and on the other, make it evident, by their manner of living, that no Wealth or Eſtate could ever ſuffice to ſupport their Expences, or ſatisfy their Deſires? Beſides, would it not be a great Encouragement to Virtue and Merit, if from the Poſts of Honour and Profit all were to be debarr'd and excluded, that either wanted Capacity, or were Enemies to Buſineſs; all the ſelfiſh, ambitious, vain, and voluptuous?

Cleo. No body diſputes it with you; and if Virtue, Religion, and future Happineſs were ſought after by the Generality of Mankind, with the ſame Sollicitude, as ſenſual Pleaſure, Politeneſs, and worldly Glory are, it would certainly be beſt, that none but Men of good Lives, and known Ability, ſhould have any Place in the Government whatever: But to expect that this ever ſhould happen, or to live in hopes of it in a large, opulent and flouriſhing Kingdom, is to betray great Ignorance in human Affairs; and whoever reckons a general Temperance, Frugality, and Diſintereſtedneſs among the national Bleſſings, and at the ſame time ſollicites Heaven for Eaſe and Plenty, and the Encreaſe of Trade, ſeems to me, little to underſtand what he is about. The beſt of all then not being to be had, let us look out for the next beſt, and we ſhall find, that of all poſſible Means to ſecure and perpetuate to Nations their Eſtabliſhment, and whatever they value, there is no better Method than with wiſe Laws to guard and entrench their Conſtitution, and contrive ſuch Forms of Adminiſtration, that the Common-Weal can receive no great Detriment from the Want of Knowledge or Probity of Miniſters, if any of them ſhould prove leſs able or honeſt, than they could wiſh them. The Publick Adminiſtration muſt always go forward; it is a Ship that can never lie at Anchor: The moſt knowing, the moſt virtuous,

and

and the leaſt ſelf-intereſted Miniſters are the beſt; but in the mean time there muſt be Miniſters. Swearing and Drunkenneſs are crying Sins among Seafaring Men, and I ſhould think it a very deſirable Bleſſing to the Nation, if it was poſſible to reform them: But all this while we muſt have Sailors; and if none were to be admitted on board of any of his Majeſty's Ships, that had ſworn above a thouſand Oaths, or had been drunk above ten times in their Lives, I am perſuaded that the Sea Service would ſuffer very much by the well-meaning Regulation.

Hor. Why don't you ſpeak more openly, and ſay that there is no Virtue or Probity in the World? for all the drift of your Diſcourſe is tending to prove that.

Cleo. I have amply declared my ſelf upon this Subject already in a former Converſation; and I wonder you will lay again to my Charge what I once abſolutely denied: I never thought that there were no virtuous or religious Men; what I differ in with the Flatterers of our Species, is about the Numbers, which they contend for; and I am perſuaded that you your ſelf, in reality, don't believe that there are ſo many virtuous Men as you imagine you do.

Hor. How come you to know my Thoughts better than I do my ſelf?

Cleo. You know I have tried you upon this Head already, when Ludicrouſly extoll'd and

ſet a fine Gloſs on the Merit of ſeveral Callings and Profeſſions in the Society, from the loweſt Actions of Life to the higheſt? It then plainly appear'd, that, tho' you have a very high Opinion of Mankind in general, when we come to Particulars, you was as ſevere, and every whit as cenſorious, as my ſelf. I muſt obſerve one thing to you, which is worth Conſideration. Moſt, if not all, People are deſirous of being thought impartial; yet nothing is more difficult than to preſerve our Judgment unbiaſs'd, when we are influenc'd either by our Love or our Hatred; and how juſt and equitable ſoever People are, we ſee that their Friends are ſeldom ſo good, or their Enemies ſo bad, as they repreſent them, when they are angry with the one, or highly pleas'd with the other. For my Part, I don't think that, generally ſpeaking, Prime Miniſters are much worſe than their Adverſaries, who, for their own Intereſt, defame them, and, at the ſame time, move Heaven and Earth to be in their Places. Let us look out for two Perſons of Eminence, in any Court of *Europe*, that are equal in Merit and Capacity, and as well match'd in Virtues and Vices, but of contrary Parties; and whenever we meet with two ſuch, one in Favour, and the other neglected, we ſhall always find, that whoever is uppermoſt, and in great Employ, has the Applauſe of his Party; and, if things go tollerably well, his Friends will attribute every good

Succeſs

Succeſs to his Conduct, and derive all his Actions from laudable Motives: The oppoſite Side can diſcover no Virtues in him; they will not allow him to act from any Principles but his Paſſions; and, if any thing be done amiſs, are very ſure that it would not have happen'd if their Patron had been in the ſame Poſt. This is the Way of the World. How immenſely do often People of the ſame Kingdom differ in the Opinion they have of their Chiefs and Commanders, even when they are ſucceſsful to Admiration! We have been Witneſſes our ſelves, that one Part of the Nation has aſcrib'd the Victories of a General, entirely to his conſummate Knowledge in Martial Affairs, and ſuperlative Capacity in Action; and maintain'd, that it was impoſſible for a Man to bear all the Toils and Fatigues he underwent with Alacrity, or to court the Dangers he voluntarily expos'd himſelf to, if he had not been ſupported, as well as animated, by the true Spirit of Heroiſm, and a moſt generous Love for his Country: Theſe, you know, were the Sentiments of one Part of the Nation, whilſt the other attributed all his Succeſſes to the Bravery of his Troops, and the extraordinary Care that was taken at Home to ſupply his Army; and inſiſted upon it, that, from the whole Courſe of his Life, it was demonſtrable, that he had never been buoy'd up or actuated by any other

Principles than exceſs of Ambition, and an inſatiable greedineſs after Riches.

Hor. I don't know but I may have ſaid ſo myſelf. But, after all, the Duke of *Marlborough* was a very great Man, an extraordinary Genius.

Cleo. Indeed was he, and I am glad to hear you own it at laſt.

Virtutem incolumem odimus,
Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi.

Hor. A propos. I wiſh you would bid them ſtop for two or three Minutes: Some of the Horſes perhaps may ſtale the while.

Cleo. No Excuſes, pray. You command here. Beſides, we have Time enough.—— Do you want to go out?

Hor. No; but I want to ſet down ſomething, now I think of it, which I have heard you repeat ſeveral times. I have often had a mind to ask you for it, and it always went out of my Head again. It is the Epitaph which your Friend made upon the Duke

Cleo. Of *Marlborough?* with all my Heart. Have you Paper?

Hor. I'll write it upon the Back of this Letter; and, as it happens, I mended my Pencil this Morning. How does it begin?

Cleo. Qui Belli, aut Pacis virtutibus aſtra petebant.

Hor.

Hor. Well.

Cleo. Finxerunt homines Sæcula priſca Deos.

Hor. I have it. But tell me a whole Diſtich at a time; the Senſe is clearer.

Cleo. Quæ Martem ſine patre tulit, ſine matre Minervam,
Illuſtres Mendax Græcia jactet Avos.

Hor. That is really a happy Thought. Courage and Conduct: juſt the two Qualifications he excelled in. What's the next?

Cleo. Anglia quem genuit jacet hâc, Homo, conditus Urnâ;
Antiqui qualem non habuere Deum.

Hor. —— I thank you. They may go on now. I have ſeen ſeveral things ſince firſt I heard this Epitaph of you, that are manifeſtly borrow'd from it. Was it never publiſh'd?

Cleo. I believe not. The firſt time I ſaw it was the Day the Duke was buried, and ever ſince it has been handed about in Manuſcript; but I never met with it in Print yet.

Hor. It is worth all his *Fable of the Bees*, in my Opinion.

Cleo. If you like it ſo well, I can ſhew you a Tranſlation of it, lately done by a Gentleman of *Oxford*, if I have not loſt it. It only takes in the firſt and laſt Diſtich, which indeed

deed contain the main Thought; The ſecond does not carry it on, and is rather a Digreſſion.

Hor. But it demonſtrates the Truth of the firſt, in a very convincing manner; and that *Mars* had no Father, and *Minerva* no Mother, is the moſt fortunate thing a Man could wiſh for, who wanted to prove that the Account we have of them is fabulous.

Cleo. Oh, here it is. I don't know whether you can read it; I copied it in haſte.

Hor. Very well.

The grateful Ages paſt a God declar'd,
Who wiſely council'd, or who bravely war'd;
Hence Greece *her* Mars *and* Pallas *deify'd;*
Made him the Hero's, her the Patriot's Guide.
Ancients, within this Urn a Mortal lies;
Shew me his Peer among your Deities.

It is very good.

Cleo. Very lively; and what is aim'd at in the *Latin*, is rather more clearly expreſs'd in the *Engliſh*.

Hor. You know I am fond of no *Engliſh* Verſe but *Milton*'s. But don't let this hinder our Converſation.

Cleo. I was ſpeaking of the Partiality of Mankind in general, and putting you in mind how differently Men judg'd of Actions, according as they liked or diſliked the Perſons that perform'd them.

Hor.

Hor. But before that you was arguing againſt the Neceſſity, which I think there is, for Men of great Accompliſhments and extraordinary Qualifications in the Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs. Had you any thing to add?

Cleo. No; at leaſt I don't remember that I had.

Hor. I don't believe you have an ill Deſign in advancing theſe Notions; but ſuppoſing them to be true, I can't comprehend that divulging them can have any other Effect than the Increaſe of Sloth and Ignorance; for if Men may fill the higheſt Places in the Government without Learning or Capacity, Genius or Knowledge, there's an End of all the Labour of the Brain, and the Fatigue of hard Study.

Cleo. I have made no ſuch general Aſſertion; but that an artful Man may make a conſiderable Figure in the higheſt Poſt of the Adminiſtration, and other great Employments, without extraordinary Talents, is certain: As to conſummate Stateſmen, I don't believe there ever were three Perſons upon Earth, at the ſame time, that deſerv'd that Name. There is not a quarter of the Wiſdom, ſolid Knowledge, or intrinſick Worth, in the World, that Men talk of, and compliment one another with; and of Virtue or Religion there is not an hundredth Part in Reality of what there is in Appearance.

Hor.

Hor. I allow that thoſe who ſet out from no better Motives, than Avarice and Ambition, aim at no other Ends but Wealth and Honour; which, if they can but get any ways they are ſatisfied; but Men, who act from Principles of Virtue and a publick Spirit, take Pains with Alacrity to attain the Accompliſhments that will make them capable of ſerving their Country: And if Virtue be ſo ſcarce, how come there to be Men of Skill in their Profeſſions? for that there are Men of Learning, and Men of Capacity, is moſt certain.

Cleo. The Foundation of all Accompliſhments muſt be laid in our Youth, before we are able or allow'd to chuſe for ourſelves, or to judge, which is the moſt profitable way of employing our Time. It is to good Diſcipline, and the prudent Care of Parents and Maſters, that Men are beholden for the greateſt Part of their Improvements; and few Parents are ſo bad as not to wiſh their Offspring might be well accompliſh'd: The ſame natural Affection, that makes Men take Pains to leave their Children rich, renders them ſollicitous about their Education. Beſides, it is unfaſhionable, and conſequently a Diſgrace, to neglect them. The chief Deſign of Parents in bringing up their Children to a Calling or Profeſſion, is to procure them a Livelihood. What promotes and encourages Arts and Sciences, is the Reward, Money and Honour; and thouſands of Perfections

Perfections are attain'd to, that would have had no Exiſtence, if Men had been leſs proud or leſs covetous. Ambition, Avarice, and often Neceſſity, are great Spurs to Induſtry and Application; and often rouſe Men from Sloth and Indolence, when they are grown up, whom no Perſuaſions, or Chaſtiſement of Fathers or Tutors, made any Impreſſion upon in their Youth. Whilſt Profeſſions are lucrative, and have great Dignities belonging to them, there will always be Men that excell in them. In a large polite Nation therefore all ſorts of Learning will ever abound, whilſt the People flouriſh. Rich Parents, and ſuch as can afford it, ſeldom fail bringing up their Children to Literature: From this inexhauſtible Spring it is, that we always draw much larger Supplies than we ſtand in need of, for all the Callings and Profeſſions where the Knowledge of the learned Languages is required. Of thoſe that are brought up to Letters, ſome neglect them, and throw by their Books, as ſoon as they are their own Maſters; others grow fonder of Study, as they increaſe in Years; but the greateſt Part will always retain a Value for what has coſt them Pains to acquire. Among the Wealthy, there will be always Lovers of Knowledge, as well as idle People: Every Science will have its Admirers, as Men differ in their Taſtes, and Pleaſures; and there is no Part of Learning but ſome Body or other will look into it, and labour at it, from

no

no better Principles, than ſome Men are Fox-hunters, and others take delight in Angling. Look upon the mighty Labours of Antiquaries, Botaniſts, and the Vertuoſo's in Butterflies, Cockle-ſhells, and other odd Productions of Nature; and mind the magnificent Terms they all make uſe of in their reſpective Provinces, and the pompous Names they often give, to what others, who have no Taſte that way, would not think worth any Mortal's Notice. Curioſity is often as bewitching to the Rich, as Lucre is to the Poor; and what Intereſt does in ſome, Vanity does in others; and great Wonders are often produced from a happy Mixture of both. Is it not amazing, that a temperate Man ſhould be at the Expence of four or five Thouſand a Year, or, which is much the ſame thing, be contented to loſe the Intereſt of above a hundred thouſand Pounds, to have the Reputation of being the Poſſeſſor and Owner of Rarities and Knicknacks in a very great abundance, at the ſame time that he loves Money, and continues ſlaving for it in his old Age? It is the Hopes either of Gain or Reputation, of large Revenues and great Dignities, that promote Learning; and when we ſay that any Calling, Art or Science, is not encouraged, we mean no more by it, than that the Maſters or Profeſſors of it are not ſufficiently rewarded for their Pains, either with Honour or Profit. The moſt Holy Functions are no Exception to what I ſay; and few

few Miniſters of the Goſpel are ſo diſintereſted as to have a leſs regard to the Honours and Emoluments, that are or ought to be annex'd to their Employment, than they have to the Service and Benefit they ſhould be of to others; and among thoſe of them, that ſtudy hard and take uncommon Pains, it is not eaſily proved that many are excited to their extraordinary Labour by a publick Spirit, or Solicitude for the Spiritual Wellfare of the Laity: On the contrary, it is viſible, in the greateſt Part of them, that they are animated by the Love of Glory and the Hopes of Preferment; neither is it uncommon to ſee the moſt uſeful Parts of Learning neglected for the moſt trifling, when, from the latter, Men have Reaſon to hope that they ſhall have greater Opportunities of ſhewing their Parts, than offer themſelves from the former. Oſtentation and Envy have made more Authors than Virtue and Benevolence. Men of known Capacity and Erudition are often labouring hard to eclipſe and ruin one another's Glory. What Principle muſt we ſay two Adverſaries act from, both Men of unqueſtionable good Senſe and extenſive Knowledge, when all the Skill and Prudence they are Maſters of are not able to ſtifle, in their ſtudy'd Performances, and hide from the World the Rancour of their Minds, the Spleen and Animoſity they both write with againſt one another?

Hor.

Hor, I don't ſay that ſuch act from Principles of Virtue.

Cleo. Yet you know an Inſtance of this in two grave Divines, Men of Fame and great Merit, of whom each would think himſelf very much injured, ſhould his Virtue be call'd in queſtion.

Hor. When Men have an Opportunity, under pretence of Zeal for Religion, or the Publick Good, to vent their Paſſion, they take great Liberties. What was the Quarrel?

Cleo. De lanâ caprinâ.

Hor. A Trifle. I can't gueſs yet.

Cleo. About the Metre of the Comick Poets among the Ancients.

Hor. I know what you mean now; the manner of ſcanding and chanting thoſe Verſes.

Cleo. Can you think of any thing belonging to Literature, of leſs Importance, or more uſeleſs?

Hor. Not readily.

Cleo. Yet the great Conteſt between them, you ſee, is which of them underſtands it beſt, and has known it the longeſt. This Inſtance, I think, hints to us, how highly improbable it is, tho' Men ſhould act from no better Principles than Envy, Avarice and Ambition, that, when Learning is once eſtabliſh'd, any Part of it, even the moſt unprofitable, ſhould ever be neglected in ſuch a large, opulent Nation as ours is; where there are ſo many Places of Honour

Honour, and great Revenues to be diſpoſed of among Scholars.

Hor. But ſince Men are fit to ſerve in moſt Places with ſo little Capacity, as you inſinuate, why ſhould they give themſelves that unneceſſary trouble of ſtudying hard, and acquiring more Learning, than there is occaſion for?

Cleo. I thought, I had anſwer'd that already; a great many, becauſe they take Delight in Study and Knowledge.

Hor. But there are Men that labour at it with ſo much Application, as to impair their Healths, and actually to kill themſelves with the Fatigue of it.

Cleo. Not ſo many, as there are, that injure their Healths, and actually kill themſelves with hard drinking, which is the moſt unreaſonable Pleaſure of the two, and a much greater Fatigue. But I don't deny that there are Men, who take Pains to qualify themſelves in order to ſerve their Country; what I inſiſt upon, is, that the Number of thoſe, who do the ſame thing to ſerve themſelves with little regard to their Country, is infinitely greater. Mr. *Hutcheſon*, who wrote the *Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue*, ſeems to be very expert at weighing and meaſuring the Quantities of Affection, Benevolence, *&c.* I wiſh that curious Metaphyſician would give himſelf the Trouble, at his Leiſure, to weigh two things

ſeparately: Firſt, the real Love Men have for their Country, abſtracted from Selfiſhneſs. Secondly, the Ambition they have, of being thought to act from that Love, tho' they feel none. I wiſh, I ſay, that this ingenious Gentleman would once weigh theſe two aſunder; and afterwards, having taken in impartially all he could find of either, in this or any other Nation, ſhew us in his demonſtrative way, what Proportion the Quantities bore to each other. —— *Quiſque ſibi commiſſus eſt*, ſays *Seneca*; and certainly, it is not the Care of others, but the Care of itſelf, which Nature has truſted and charged every individual Creature with. When Men exert themſelves in an extraordinary manner, they generally do it to be the better for it themſelves; to excel, to be talk'd of, and to be preferr'd to others, that follow the ſame Buſineſs, or court the ſame Favours.

Hor. Do you think it more probable, that Men of Parts and Learning ſhould be preferr'd, than others of leſs Capacity?

Cleo. Cæteris paribus, I do.

Hor. Then you muſt allow, that there is Virtue at leaſt in thoſe, who have the Diſpoſal of Places.

Cleo. I don't ſay there is not; but there is likewiſe Glory, and real Honour accruing to Patrons, for advancing Men of Merit; and if a Perſon, who has a good Living in his Gift, beſtows it upon a very able Man, every Body ap-

applauds him, and every Pariſhioner is counted to be particularly obliged to him. A vain Man does not love to have his Choice diſapprov'd of, and exclaim'd againſt by all the World, any more than a virtuous Man; and the Love of Applauſe, which is innate to our Species, would alone be ſufficient to make the Generality of Men, and even the greateſt part of the moſt vicious, always chuſe the moſt worthy, out of any Number of Candidates; if they knew the Truth, and no ſtronger Motive ariſing from Conſanguinity, Friendſhip, Intereſt, or ſomething elſe, was to interfere with the Principle I named.

Hor. But, methinks, according to your Syſtem, thoſe ſhould be ſooneſt preferr'd, that can beſt coax and flatter.

Cleo. Among the Learned there are Perſons of Art and Addreſs, that can mind their Studies without neglecting the World: Theſe are the Men, that know how to ingratiate themſelves with Perſons of Quality, employing to the beſt advantage all their Parts and Induſtry for that Purpoſe. Do but look into the Lives and the Deportment of ſuch eminent Men, as we have been ſpeaking of, and you will ſoon diſcover the End and Advantages they ſeem to propoſe to themſelves from their hard Study and ſevere Lucubrations. When you ſee Men in Holy Orders, without Call or Neceſſity, hovering about the Courts of Princes; when you ſee them continually addreſſing and ſcrap-

ing Acquaintance with the Favorites; when you hear them exclaim againſt the Luxury of the Age, and complain of the Neceſſity they are under, of complying with it; and at the ſame time you ſee, that they are forward, nay eager and take pains with Satisfaction, in their way of Living, to imitate the *Beau Monde*, as far as it is in their Power: That no ſooner they are in Poſſeſſion of one Preferment, but they are ready, and actually ſolliciting for another, more gainful and more reputable; and that on all Emergencies, Wealth, Power, Honour and Superiority are the things they graſp at, and take delight in; when, I ſay, you ſee theſe things, this Concurrence of Evidences, is it any longer difficult to gueſs at, or rather is there room to doubt of, the Principles they act from, or the Tendency of their Labours?

Hor. I have little to ſay to Prieſts, and do not look for Virtue from that Quarter.

Cleo. Yet you'll find as much of it among Divines, as you will among any other Claſs of Men; but every where leſs in Reality, than there is in Appearance. No Body would be thought inſincere, or to prevaricate; but there are few Men, tho' they are ſo honeſt as to own what they would have, that will acquaint us with the true Reaſon, why they would have it: Therefore the Diſagreement between the Words and Actions of Men is at no time more conſpicuous, than when we would learn from them their Sentiments con-

cerning the real Worth of Things. Virtue is without doubt the moſt valuable Treaſure, which Man can be poſſeſs'd of; it has every Body's good Word; but where is the Country in which it is heartily embraced, *præmia ſi tollas?* Money, on the other hand, is deſervedly call'd the Root of all Evil: There has not been a Moraliſt nor a Satyriſt of Note, that has not had a Fling at it; yet what Pains are taken, and what Hazards are run to acquire it, under various Pretences of deſigning to do good with it! As for my part, I verily believe, that as an acceſſary Cauſe, it has done more Miſchief in the World than any one thing beſides: Yet it is impoſſible to name another, that is ſo abſolutely neceſſary to the Order, Oeconomy, and the very Exiſtence of the Civil Society; for as this is entirely built upon the Variety of our Wants, ſo the whole Superſtructure is made up of the reciprocal Services, which Men do to each other. How to get theſe Services perform'd by others, when we have Occaſion for them, is the grand and almoſt conſtant Sollicitude in Life of every individual Perſon. To expect, that others ſhould ſerve us for nothing, is unreaſonable; therefore all Commerce, that Men can have together, muſt be a continual bartering of one thing for another. The Seller, who transfers the Property of a Thing, has his own Intereſt as much at Heart as the Buyer, who purchaſes that Property; and, if you

want or like a thing, the Owner of it, whatever Stock or Proviſion he may have of the ſame, or how greatly ſoever you may ſtand in need of it, will never part with it, but for a Conſideration, which he likes better, than he does the thing you want. Which way ſhall I perſuade a Man to ſerve me, when the Service, I can repay him in, is ſuch as he does not want or care for? No Body, who is at Peace, and has no Contention with any of the Society, will do any thing for a Lawyer; and a Phyſician can purchaſe nothing of a Man, whoſe whole Family is in perfect Health. Money obviates and takes away all thoſe Difficulties, by being an acceptable Reward for all the Services Men can do to one another.

Hor. But all Men valuing themſelves above their Worth, every Body will over-rate his Labour. Would not this follow from your Syſtem?

Cleo. It certainly would, and does. But what is to be admired is, that the larger the Numbers are in a Society, the more extenſive they have rendred the Variety of their Deſires, and the more operoſe the Gratification of them is become among them by Cuſtom; the leſs miſchievous is the Conſequence of that Evil, where they have the uſe of Money: Whereas, without it, the ſmaller the Number was of a Society, and the more ſtrictly the Members of it, in ſupplying their Wants, would confine themſelves to thoſe only that were

were neceſſary for their Subſiſtance, the more eaſy it would be for them to agree about the reciprocal Services I ſpoke of. But to procure all the Comforts of Life, and what is call'd temporal Happineſs, in a large polite Nation, would be every whit as practicable without Speech, as it would be without Money, or an Equivalent to be uſed inſtead of it. Where this is not wanting, and due Care is taken of it by the Legiſlature, it will always be the Standard, which the Worth of every Thing will be weigh'd by. There are great Bleſſings that ariſe from Neceſſity; and that every Body is obliged to eat and drink, is the Cement of civil Society. Let Men ſet what high Value they pleaſe upon themſelves; that Labour, which moſt People are capable of doing, will ever be the cheapeſt. Nothing can be dear, of which there is great Plenty, how beneficial ſoever it may be to Man; and Scarcity inhances the Price of Things much oftener than the Uſefulneſs of them. Hence it is evident why thoſe Arts and Sciences will always be the moſt lucrative that cannot be attain'd to, but in great length of Time, by tedious Study and cloſe Application; or elſe require a particular Genius, not often to be met with. It is likewiſe evident, to whoſe Lot, in all Societies, the hard and dirty Labour, which no Body would meddle with, if he could help it, will ever fall: But you have ſeen enough of this in the *Fable of the Bees.*

Hor. I have ſo, and one remarkable Saying I have read there on this Subject, which I ſhall never forget. *The Poor*, ſays the Author, *have nothing to ſtir them up to labour, but their Wants, which it is Wiſdom to relieve, but Folly to cure.*

Cleo. I believe the Maxim to be juſt, and that it is not leſs calculated for the real Advantage of the Poor, than it appears to be for the Benefit of the Rich. For, among the labouring People, thoſe will ever be the leaſt wretched as to themſelves, as well as moſt uſeful to the Publick, that being meanly born and bred, ſubmit to the Station they are in with Chearfulneſs; and contented, that their Children ſhould ſucceed them in the ſame low Condition, inure them from their Infancy to Labour and Submiſſion, as well as the cheapeſt Diet and Apparel; when, on the contrary, that ſort of them will always be the leaſt ſerviceable to others, and themſelves the moſt unhappy, who, diſſatisfy'd with their Labour, are always grumbling and repining at the meanneſs of their Condition; and, under Pretence of having a great Regard for the Welfare of their Children, recommend the Education of them to the Charity of others; and you ſhall always find, that of this latter Claſs of Poor, the greateſt Part are idle, ſottiſh People, that, leading diſſolute Lives themſelves, are neglectful of their Families, and only want, as far as it is in their Power, to ſhake off the

Burden

Burden of providing for their Brats from their own Shoulders.

Hor. I am no Advocate for Charity-Schools; yet I think it is barbarous, that the Children of the labouring Poor ſhould be for ever pinn'd down, they, and all their Poſterity, to that ſlaviſh Condition; and that thoſe who are meanly born, what Parts or Genius ſoever they might be of, ſhould be hinder'd and debarr'd from raiſing themſelves higher.

Cleo. So ſhould I think it barbarous, if what you ſpeak of was done any where, or propos'd to be done. But there is no Degree of Men in Chriſtendom that are pinn'd down, they and their Poſterity, to Slavery for ever. Among the very loweſt ſort, there are fortunate Men in every Country; and we daily ſee Perſons that, without Education or Friends, by their own Induſtry and Application, raiſe themſelves from nothing to Mediocrity, and ſometimes above it, if once they come rightly to love Money and take Delight in ſaving it: And this happens more often to People of common and mean Capacities, than it does to thoſe of brighter Parts. But there is a prodigious Difference between debarring the Children of the Poor from ever riſing higher in the World, and refuſing to force Education upon Thouſands of them promiſcuouſly, when they ſhould be more uſefully employ'd. As ſome of the Rich muſt come to be Poor, ſo ſome of the Poor will come to

be

be Rich in the common Courſe of Things. But that univerſal Benevolence, that ſhould every where induſtriouſly lift up the indigent Labourer from his Meanneſs, would not be leſs injurious to the whole Kingdom than a tyrannical Power, that ſhould, without a Cauſe, caſt down the Wealthy from their Eaſe and Affluence. Let us ſuppoſe, that the hard and dirty Labour throughout the Nation requires three Millions of Hands, and that every Branch of it is perform'd by the Children of the Poor, Illiterate, and ſuch as had little or no Education themſelves; it is evident, that if a tenth Part of theſe Children, by Force and Deſign, were to be exempt from the loweſt Drudgery, either there muſt be ſo much Work left undone, as would demand three hundred thouſand People; or the Defect, occaſion'd by the Numbers taken off, muſt be ſupply'd by the Children of others, that had been better bred.

Hor. So that what is done at firſt out of Charity to ſome, may, at long Run, prove to be Cruelty to others.

Cleo. And will, depend upon it. In the Compound of all Nations, the different Degrees of Men ought to bear a certain Proportion to each other, as to Numbers, in order to render the whole a well-proportion'd Mixture. And as this due Proportion is the Reſult and natural Conſequence of the difference there is in the Qualifications of Men, and the Viciſſitudes

Viciſſitudes that happen among them, ſo it is never better attained to, or preſerv'd, than when no body meddles with it. Hence we may learn, how the ſhort-ſighted Wiſdom, of perhaps well-meaning People, may rob us of a Felicity, that would flow ſpontaneouſly from the Nature of every large Society, if none were to divert or interrupt the Stream.

Hor. I don't care to enter into theſe abſtruſe Matters; what have you further to ſay in Praiſe of Money?

Cleo. I have no deſign to ſpeak either for, or againſt it; but be it good or bad, the Power and Dominion of it are both of vaſt extent, and the Influence of it upon Mankind has never been ſtronger or more general in any Empire, State or Kingdom, than in the moſt knowing and politeſt Ages, when they were in their greateſt Grandeur and Proſperity; and when Arts and Sciences were the moſt flouriſhing in them: Therefore the Invention of Money ſeems to me to be a thing more skilfully adapted to the whole Bent of our Nature, than any other of human Contrivance. There is no greater remedy againſt Sloth or Stubbornneſs; and with Aſtoniſhment I have beheld the Readineſs and Alacrity with which it often makes the proudeſt Men pay Homage to their Inferiors: It purchaſes all Services and cancels all Debts; nay, it does more, for when a Perſon is employ'd in his Occupation, and he who ſets him to work, a good Pay-

Maſter,

Maſter, how laborious, how difficult, or irkſome ſoever the Service be, the Obligation is always reckoned to lie upon him who performs it.

Hor. Don't you think, that many eminent Men in the learned Profeſſions would diſſent from you in this?

Cleo. I know very well, that none ought to do it, if ever they courted Buſineſs or hunted after Employment.

Hor. All you have ſaid is true, among mercenary People; but upon noble Minds that deſpiſe Lucre, Honour has a far greater Efficacy than Money.

Cleo. The higheſt Titles, and the moſt illuſtrious Births are no Security againſt Covetouſneſs; and Perſons of the firſt Quality, that are actually generous and munificent, are often as greedy after Gain, when it is worth their while, as the moſt ſordid Mechanicks are for Trifles; The Year Twenty has taught us, how difficult it is to find out thoſe noble Minds that deſpiſe Lucre, when there is a Proſpect of getting vaſtly. Beſides, nothing is more univerſally charming than Money; it ſuits with every Station; the high, the low, the wealthy, and the poor: whereas Honour has little influence on the mean, ſlaving People, and rarely affects any of the vulgar; but if it does, Money will almoſt every where purchaſe Honour; nay, Riches of themſelves are an honour to all thoſe, who know how

to

to uſe them faſhionably. Honour on the contrary wants Riches for its ſupport; without them it is a dead Weight that oppreſſes its Owner; and Titles of Honour, joyn'd to a neceſſitous Condition, are a greater Burden together, than the ſame degree of Poverty is alone: for the higher a Man's Quality is, the more conſiderable are his Wants in Life; but the more Money he has, the better he is able to ſupply the greateſt Extravagancy of them. Lucre is the beſt Reſtorative in the World, in a literal Senſe, and works upon the Spirits mechanically; for it is not only a Spur, that excites Men to labour, and makes them in love with it; but it likewiſe gives Relief in Wearineſs, and actually ſupports Men in all Fatigues and Difficulties. A Labourer of any ſort, who is paid in proportion to his Diligence, can do more work than another, who is paid by the Day or the Week, and has ſtanding Wages.

Hor. Don't you think then, that there are Men in laborious Offices, who for a fix'd Salary diſcharge their Duties with Diligence and Aſſiduity?

Cleo. Yes, many; but there is no Place or Employment, in which there are required or expected, that continual Attendance and uncommon Severity of Application, that ſome Men harraſs and puniſh themſelves with by Choice, when every freſh Trouble meets with a new Recompence; and you never ſaw

Men

Men ſo entirely devote themſelves to their Calling, and purſue Buſineſs with that Eagerneſs, Diſpatch and Perſeverance in any Office or Preferment, in which the yearly Income is certain and unalterable, as they often do in thoſe Profeſſions, where the Reward continually accompanies the Labour, and the Fee immediately, either precedes the Service they do to others, as it is with the Lawyers, or follows it, as it is with the Phyſicians.--- I am ſure you have hinted at this in our firſt Converſation yourſelf.

Hor. Here's the Caſtle before us.

Cleo. Which I ſuppoſe you are not ſorry for.

Hor. Indeed I am, and would have been glad to have heard you ſpeak of Kings and other Sovereigns, with the ſame Candor as well as Freedom, with which you have treated Prime Miniſters and their envious Adverſaries. When I ſee a Man entirely impartial, I ſhall always do him that Juſtice, as to think, that if he is not in the right in what he ſays, at leaſt he aims at Truth. The more I examine your Sentiments, by what I ſee in the World, the more I am obliged to come into them; and all this Morning I have ſaid nothing in Oppoſition to you, but to be better inform'd, and to give you an Opportunity to explain yourſelf more amply. I am your Convert, and ſhall henceforth look upon the *Fable of the Bees* very differently from what I did; for tho' in the

the *Characteriſticks* the Language and the Diction are better, the Syſtem of Man's Sociableneſs is more lovely and more plauſible, and Things are ſet off with more Art and Learning; yet in the other there is certainly more Truth, and Nature is more faithfully copied in it, almoſt every where.

Cleo. I wiſh you would read them both once more, and, after that, I believe you'll ſay that you never ſaw two Authors who ſeem to have wrote with more different Views. My Friend, the Author of the *Fable*, to engage and keep his Readers in good Humour, ſeems to be very merry, and to do ſomething elſe, whilſt he detects the Corruption of our Nature; and, having ſhewn Man to himſelf in various Lights, he points indirectly at the Neceſſity, not only of Revelation and Believing, but likewiſe of the Practice of Chriſtianity, manifeſtly to be ſeen in Men's Lives.

Hor. I have not obſerv'd that: Which way has he done it indirectly?

Cleo. By expoſing, on the one hand, the Vanity of the World, and the moſt polite Enjoyments of it; and, on the other, the Inſufficiency of Human Reaſon and Heathen Virtue to procure real Felicity; for I cannot ſee what other Meaning a Man could have by doing this in a Chriſtian Country, and among People, that all pretend to ſeek after Happineſs.

Hor.

Hor. And what ſay you of Lord *Shatſbury?*

Cleo. Firſt, I agree with you, that he was a Man of Erudition, and a very polite Writer; he has diſplay'd a copious Imagination, and a fine Turn of thinking, in courtly Language and nervous Expreſſions: But as, on the one hand, it muſt be confeſs'd, that his Sentiments on Liberty and Humanity are noble and ſublime, and that there is nothing trite or vulgar in the *Characteriſticks*; ſo, on the other, it cannot be denied, that the Ideas he had form'd of the Goodneſs and Excellency of our Nature, were as romantick and chimerical as they are beautiful and amiable; that he labour'd hard to unite two Contraries that can never be reconcil'd together, Innocence of Manners and worldly Greatneſs; that to compaſs this End he favour'd Deiſm, and, under Pretence of laſhing Prieſtcraft and Superſtition, attack'd the Bible it ſelf; and laſtly, that by ridiculing many Paſſages of Holy Writ, he ſeems to have endeavour'd to ſap the Foundation of all reveal'd Religion, with Deſign of eſtabliſhing Heathen Virtue on the Ruins of Chriſtianity.

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